



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

The Leucippides in Greek Myth: Abductions, Rituals and Weddings


Claudia Baldassi

PhD Classics

The University of Edinburgh

2018

I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Claudia Baldassi', is written over a light gray rectangular background.

Claudia Baldassi

Abstract

This project focuses on the myth of the Leucippides. The two daughters of the Messenian king Leucippus, occasionally identified as Phoibe and Hilaeira, are mostly known for being abducted by the Dioscuri in a secondary episode of the Dioscuri's life. Their story is short and lacking in details, but it has a huge potential for an interdisciplinary approach meant to highlight the relevance and diversity of uses of an allegedly minor myth.

The sources available are limited in number but span the sixth – possibly seventh – century BC to the Imperial age and are spread throughout Greece and Magna Graecia. It is doubtless a persistent and widespread myth. I have chosen an innovative transversal approach, rarely used in the field, to pursue the clearest and most complete picture of the Leucippides possible given the current state of knowledge. All primary sources – ranging from poetry to historiography, epigraphy, visual arts and archaeology – have been considered. Every source has been analysed in its individuality, against its cultural backdrop and, finally, in relation to the others.

This research pursues a better understanding of the story of the Leucippides. At its core, my study aims to take a step further than the mere collection and description of all sources available; my goal is the identification of the meanings and ways of use of our myth in different contexts in the Greek world and, where possible, the recognition of larger trends that bypassed geographical boundaries. In particular, the present research investigates the relationship between the myth of the Leucippides and its wider social and cultural context, inside the society in which it appears, taking into due account the different times and places. I analyse a series of points of interest that isolate the Leucippides from the backdrop of similar myths. The story of the Leucippides, in fact, contributes to the discussion of female identity-making processes in Greece, of active relationships between myth and society, of the cultural and exemplary nature of abduction stories and their connection to marriage, and of the transmission, geographical expansion and reception of myth in different contexts.

This study is innovative in its approach to the entirety of sources available and unique in its reconstruction of a long-neglected myth and of its interaction with more

articulated questions concerning society and culture. Given the large number of secondary characters in Greek myth and the limited pool of studies devoted to them so far, studies such as mine could serve as a model for others to follow. This study will be a stepping stone for further studies on the Dioscuri and Helen through the family and the thematic connections tying them to the Leucippides, but also for comparative approaches to abduction and related Indo-European myths.

Lay Summary

In a scarcely attested episode of Greek myth, the Leucippides (the two daughters of the Messenian king Leucippus) are abducted by the Dioscuri (Spartan twin heroes, sons of Zeus), who desire to marry them. In this research, the story of the Leucippides will be used as a case study to investigate the interactions and reciprocal influences of myth and historical society in ancient Greece. Myth, in fact, was a pervasive element in ancient Greek society; it was the favourite topic of poets and artists, it was entwined with religion and shaped the collective memory of the past. Most myths were multifaceted and could be productively used in different contexts with different focuses and messages. The story of the Leucippides is set against this backdrop.

I shall identify and analyse the core traits of this episode and its social, religious and even political inflexions. By examining where, when and how it was represented, I shall suggest possible interpretations of how the abduction of the Leucippides was used to transmit specific messages and was contextually read by its users. In particular, I aim to demonstrate the exemplariness of our myth for rites of passage concerning girls entering adulthood and preparing for marriage. Although similar stories are known to Greek mythology, the abduction of the Leucippides, in fact, stands out for its geographical spread, chronological persistence and regularity of traits.

Therefore, this research aims to draw a picture of the Leucippides inside the society in which they appeared, using an innovative method based on a highly comparative and interdisciplinary approach. It will fill the gaps in the research on these characters specifically, but it will also contribute to a series of relevant discussions in modern scholarship in the field, such as female identity-making processes in Greece, active relationships between myth and society, the cultural and exemplary nature of abduction stories and their symbolic connection to marriage, and the transmission, geographical expansion and reception of myth in different times and places.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my principal supervisor Prof Douglas Cairns for his continuous support, patience and guidance. Appreciation is also due to my assistant supervisor Prof Judy Barringer, whose expertise and hard questions have been invaluable for the completion of this thesis. I am indebted to my assistant supervisor Dr Lilah Grace Canevaro for her insightful comments, encouragement and our stimulating discussions. I would also like to thank my examiners, Prof Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and Dr Richard Rawles, for their valuable input and illuminating suggestions. I am grateful to Dr Simon Trépanier for his feedback throughout the years and to the School of History, Classics and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh for offering me such an intellectually stimulating environment.

I thank all my friends and colleagues in the PhD Classics community at Edinburgh for the great years we spent together, and a special thanks goes to my proofreaders: Celeste De Blois, Sam Ellis, Mark Huggins, Alison John, Dorothy Longley-Cook, Rory Nutter and Thaddeus Thorp.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to my parents, who have always believed in me.

Table of Contents

<i>Table of contents</i>	<i>p. 1</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>p. 4</i>
<i>1. Introduction to the characters: the myth in literary sources</i>	<i>p. 24</i>
<i>1.1 A standard version?</i>	<i>p. 26</i>
<i>1.2 The Apharetidae</i>	<i>p. 32</i>
<i>1.2.1 The engagement</i>	<i>p. 43</i>
<i>2. A myth in context: the Leucippides in Sparta</i>	<i>p. 58</i>
<i>2.1 The Spartan Dioscuri</i>	<i>p. 59</i>
<i>2.2 Political use and value</i>	<i>p. 65</i>
<i>2.3 Social implications</i>	<i>p. 72</i>
<i>2.4 The cult: the temple</i>	<i>p. 74</i>
<i>2.5 The priestesses: Apollo and Dionysus</i>	<i>p. 78</i>
<i>2.6 The Hyacinthia</i>	<i>p. 86</i>
<i>2.7 Alcman</i>	<i>p. 94</i>
<i>2.8 Independent cult</i>	<i>p. 102</i>
<i>2.9 Individual existence</i>	<i>p. 106</i>
<i>2.10 Conclusion on the cult – the nature of the Leucippides</i>	<i>p. 111</i>
<i>3. A myth in context: the Leucippides in the Greek world</i>	<i>p. 113</i>
<i>3.1 Magna Graecia</i>	<i>p. 114</i>
<i>3.1.1 Rhegion</i>	<i>p. 114</i>
<i>3.1.2 Suggestions from Locri</i>	<i>p. 117</i>
<i>3.1.3 Rhegion again: more evidence</i>	<i>p. 120</i>
<i>3.1.4 Poseidonia</i>	<i>p. 122</i>
<i>3.1.5 Concluding remarks</i>	<i>p. 125</i>

3.2 Argos	p. 126
3.3 Delphi: Siphnos	p. 136
3.3.1 The Siphnian Treasury	p. 138
3.4 Apulia-Taras	p. 146
3.4.1 Introduction	p. 147
3.4.2 The Dioscuri	p. 151
3.4.3 The Leucippides	p. 156
3.4.4 The vases	p. 161
3.4.5 Conclusions	p. 166
 4. A myth in context: the Leucippides in Athens	p. 168
4.1 Introduction	p. 168
4.2 A myth from afar – a local myth	p. 169
4.2.1 Athens and Argos	p. 170
4.2.2 Athens and Sparta	p. 178
4.2.3 Athens and Taras	p. 186
4.2.4 Conclusions	p. 189
4.3 Local developments	p. 190
4.4 Abduction before marriage – abduction as marriage	p. 194
4.4.1 Wedding as abduction, abduction as wedding: a shifting boundary for a social model	p. 196
4.4.2 The abduction of the Leucippides or the Leucippides' wedding?	p. 204
4.5 The abduction as a rite of passage: the sanctuary	p. 212
4.6 The other side of the coin: the heroic quest of male maturation	p. 219
 Conclusion	p. 224
 Appendix A – Abduction as marriage: parallel stories	p. 227
Appendix B – Catalogue of literary sources	p. 247
Appendix C – Catalogue of visual sources	p. 264

<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>p. 294</i>
<i>Index locorum</i>	<i>p. 336</i>
<i>Index of objects</i>	<i>p. 339</i>

Introduction

This study deals with the Greek myth of the Leucippides, the two daughters of King Leucippus of Messenia. At its core, it is the story of an abduction. The two Leucippides, who are often – but not always – called Phoibe and Hilaeira,¹ attracted the attention of the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeukes, sons of neighbouring King Tyndareus of Sparta. The two young heroes abducted them. This basic outline of the episode is often expanded by other elements: the backdrop of a sanctuary, the following wedding and the birth of children. In some cases, this episode was also intertwined with another famous deed of the Dioscuri, their deadly fight against their cousins, the Apharetidae.

As it should be clear from this short presentation, the story of the Leucippides is, seemingly, neither complex nor ambiguous. The Leucippides belong to a large number of minor figures that make up the bulk of the Greek cultic and mythological landscape; their whole mythological existence adds up to a single episode, identified, moreover, as a secondary episode of someone else's story. Since these characters left only slight traces of their existence, their relevance and interest are generally underestimated by modern scholars. However, their importance depends not on the sheer number of attestations but on their chronological span, the persistence of the story's core traits and the geographical range of the occurrences.

The Leucippides belong to the mythological genealogies of the Peloponnese but, as is often the case with more famous Greek myths, their story is not limited either to its purely mythical dimension or to the Peloponnese. It is attested throughout the Greek world, from the Archaic period to the Imperial age. The Leucippides appear in literature and, more often, in visual arts, in which their abduction is a well-attested theme. Despite our sources being partial and overall limited, both in number and in extension, they offer a detailed picture, rich in meaningful information on its cultural background, and on the way in which the story was used and perceived by the Greeks.

In other words, the story of the Leucippides, although a “minor” episode, was well known and connected to cultic, political and socio-cultural themes, as we shall

¹ On heroines with a collective identity, especially marked by patronymics, cf. Lyons 1997, 51-54.

see. Clearly, its position inside the Greek mythological landscape was more stable than is usually assumed. Its exemplary value has been occasionally noted in the past,² but the true potential of the myth of the Leucippides has remained untapped. Despite the story of the Leucippides occupying a liminal space, nevertheless, it should be noted that it must have held some intrinsic value for Greek society for it to remain so persistent in art and literature for such a long time. The full ramifications of its appearance in various contexts have not been analysed so far.

This study, therefore, aims to produce the most complete picture of the Leucippides possible. The starting point is the collection of all the available sources – literary and iconographic, direct and indirect – to create a map of the locations where the Leucippides are attested, paying particular attention to the chronological relationships of the sources, their concentration in specific locations and periods of time, and the different ways in which the story is depicted. From these premises, the first of my aims is to analyse the different versions of the story to isolate its core elements and to inquire how and why expansions and variations came to be. The main focus of this study, however, takes a step further and has as a goal the identification of the meaning and usage of our myth in particular contexts in the Greek world and, where possible, the recognition of larger trends that bypassed geographical boundaries.

Myth is an immanent element in Greek society; it is a favourite topic of poets and artists, is entwined with religion and shapes the collective memory of the past. Most myths are multifaceted and can be productively used in different contexts with different focuses. The story of the Leucippides is no exception. Therefore, we shall identify and analyse the social, religious and even political inflections of our myth. By examining the contexts and modes of representation, I shall suggest possible interpretations of how the abduction of the Leucippides was used to transmit specific messages and was contextually read by its users. In particular, I aim to demonstrate – and therefore shall dwell on – the exemplarity of this myth for rites of passage concerning girls entering adulthood and preparing for marriage.³ This pattern has been identified and studied in other myths, but the Leucippides have rarely been considered in the same paradigm. The fact that these themes could be successfully expressed also

² Most of all, by Calame 1977a.

³ On exemplary heroines, cf. Lyons 1997, 35-42.

by minor myths such as the Leucippides' abduction will prove the pervasiveness of the conjunction of themes such as abduction, marriage, violence and maturation. In other words, this work does not aim to prove the existence of such a conjunction, which has already been demonstrated in detail in the past, nor to analyse it conceptually or theoretically. Its purpose is, instead, to contribute to the debate by discussing the presence of these themes in the specific case of a myth that has mostly been ignored so far. In particular, we shall discuss the implications of the clear presence of such themes in minor myths, such as the story of the Leucippides.

Scholarly attention, in fact, has largely been focused on the reception and use of the major players in Greek mythology; however, a constellation of minor characters and episodes surrounded them and each of them could contribute to the transmission of values and the shaping of society, as this study aims to prove by the example of the Leucippides. The usefulness of studies such as mine can be recognised in two respects: first, they contribute to the revaluation of secondary episodes and, secondly, they enrich our understanding of Greek society and its relationship with myth. Following this point, the present work aims to draw a picture of the Leucippides within the society in which they appear, taking account of the different times and places. This goal will require a reconstruction of the conceptual framework concerning weddings, abductions, rites of passage and their representations and will pass through the consideration of parallel myths and their differences and similarities in comparison with the story of the Leucippides. In particular, the investigation of the mythological and cultural themes of the "abduction as a means to a wedding", "abduction as wedding" and "abduction as ritual preparation or anticipation of the wedding" and their relevance in connection to the Leucippides will be other focal points of attention. Then, we shall inquire whether an evolution through time can be recognised, and how the Leucippides expressed local identities in relation (but not necessarily in opposition) to Panhellenic values (e.g., gender relationships and models of female maturation). Consequently, we shall investigate the possible channels of transmission of the myth by following up the trail of similarities and differences in the local embodiments of the Leucippides, and the political and economic connections between cities that could have conveyed them.

To pursue these aims, we shall resort to a range of sources of different origin and date, as the story of the Leucippides in Greek culture is long and characterised by few but evenly distributed appearances in time and space. The oldest source preserved is a lid fragment from Rhegion (550-525 BC) depicting an abduction scene in which Polydeukes and Phoibe are identified by inscriptions. Other sources, however, attest to an earlier diffusion of the myth. According to Pausanias, the abduction of the Leucippides was narrated in the *Cypria* (possibly seventh century BC), and he also attests that the same scene appeared in the decoration of a number of late Archaic buildings, such as the temple of Athena in Sparta, the throne of Apollo in Amyklai, the temple of the Dioscuri in Argos and the *Anakeion* in Athens. Traces of the Leucippides' presence appear in a commentary on Alcman and, against this backdrop, even a connection with Alcman's famous Louvre *Partheneion* does not seem completely unlikely. The presence of the Leucippides has been suggested for a limited number of other buildings such as the Siphnian and Sicyonian Treasuries in Delphi and the Heraion of Foce del Sele, in stone relief fragments from Rhegion and in some Locrian terracotta *pinakes*. The myth cannot be traced back any further than the late seventh century, but its geographical spread, together with a certain degree of uniformity during the sixth century BC, suggests that the myth was well established by that date. Alas, for this period, we must rely mostly on indirect and later sources, such as Pausanias' testimony, cautious interpretation of the limited evidence and informed guesswork.

During the fifth and fourth centuries BC, we witness a flourishing of the story in Athenian vase paintings, and some degree of interest is also recognisable in Apulian art. A series of Athenian vases are of particular interest to us as they attest to the growing assimilation between abduction scenes and wedding procession scenes. At this period, literary attestations are still extremely limited. A casual mention of the Leucippides in relation to Helen and the Hyacinthia festival in Euripides' *Helen*, however, suggests a degree of familiarity with the Leucippides in the Athenian audience of the late fifth century BC. It is only with the Hellenistic period that the ratio between literary and visual sources tips in favour of the former. In particular, the Leucippides have attracted some scholarly interest due to their appearance in Theocritus' *Idyll* 22 and Lycophron's *Alexandra*. In this period, our myth receives new

life through its intersection with a more renowned episode of the life of the Dioscuri, the duel with their cousins, the Apharetidae, that led to Castor's death and the Dioscuri's rise to the status of gods, at least on alternate days. However, this version does not become predominant, and Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* seems to ignore its existence completely. It is only with its transmission to Rome that the Apharetidae episode becomes the standard version.

Privileged attention to the Latin sources rather than to the scattered Greek ones has brought about the first of several misconceptions about the Leucippides in modern studies, that is the assumption that the connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and the fight against the Apharetidae is a necessary element of the story. As we shall discuss, this assumption is baseless, as the connection makes its appearance no earlier than the fourth century BC, only in sources of ambiguous reading or of innovative flair and is never considered by the Greeks as the most authoritative or widespread version. Other misconceptions, such as the exclusively Spartan nature of the episode in question as well as its allegedly late appearance and derivative origin are due to the casual approach of scholarship to the topic. I was unable to identify any systematic study on the Leucippides so far; scholarly mentions are sporadic and scarcely substantial in most cases. The Leucippides are often considered as a parallel example to demonstrate a specific point under discussion, but this approach does not offer any space for an in-depth understanding of the characters in all their complexity. In other words, single aspects have been privileged on an occasional basis and, therefore, isolated from the complete picture, thus giving rise to a partial and often biased image of the Leucippides.⁴ Therefore, a consensus on the identity of the Leucippides and the uses and meanings of their story has never been reached, even on the most elemental points. My contribution stands against this backdrop to try to rectify some of these misconceptions and to fill in this gap in scholarship.

It still seems too ambitious to consider the Leucippides (and many other characters with them) to be any more than marginal figures in the wide context of Greek mythology. As we shall see, however, even a short story can be known, recognised, and meaningful for a society at large. Also, secondary characters are not

⁴ The meagre interest in the Leucippides and the subsequently limited understanding of their nature are part of a larger question that concerns all minor characters of Greek mythology and religion.

necessarily segregated into obscure episodes, but often belong to wider narratives or are drawn inside the sphere of influence of more famous characters. For instance, the Leucippides do not exist in isolation but are usually connected to the Dioscuri. From this, it follows that individual studies on minor characters are relevant to our discipline. Although it is not possible to pursue a complete and accurate picture of a given character at any given time and place, it is still possible to achieve an all-around image of the character's evolution in the wider context of the whole ancient Greek world throughout its history. Given the vast number of secondary characters in Greek myth and the limited pool of studies conducted on them so far, studies such as the present one could serve as a model in structural approach, methodology and – hopefully – success for similar studies to follow.

It is against this backdrop that my research on the Leucippides is presented. Its contribution to scholarship can be identified as filling the gaps in the research on the Leucippides specifically, but it will also contribute to a series of relevant, topical discussions in contemporary scholarship on ancient Greece. First, it offers a case study in the analysis of female identity-making processes in Greece; one of the main aims of this work is, in fact, to study how a myth such as the abduction of the Leucippides could be perceived by the female population and oriented in its visual depictions and cultic practice to the transmission of socio-cultural messages addressed to a female audience. The Leucippides, in fact, became mythological models for real-life girls, as they underwent the same ritual processes: the rite of passage in a liminal sanctuary, the abduction-wedding that marks the final stage of their transition to adulthood and, finally, motherhood. I shall specifically discuss the social expectations and mechanisms underlying the superimposition of abduction myths and marriage themes. From a broader point of view, this study will prove useful in the discussion of the active relationship between myth and society. In fact, the story of the Leucippides is a meaningful example of how a myth is adapted to the expectations of society and, in turn, offers a formal model for society to imitate.

Another relevant topic will be the transmission, geographical expansion and reception of a myth in different contexts. As already mentioned, the Leucippides were known throughout the Greek world and exhibited slightly diverging traits in different locations. They offer a clear example of the development of local variations and, in

parallel, of how cultural connections between cities can steer those developments. Finally, this study may be considered a stepping stone for further studies on the Dioscuri and Helen through the familial and thematic connections tying them to the Leucippides, but also for comparative approaches to abduction and for Indo-European studies on the Divine Twins and their wives.

The methodology adopted by this research needs to be clarified at this point. As already mentioned, a wide-scope approach has been chosen to pursue the clearest and most complete picture of the Leucippides possible with our current state of knowledge. Therefore, no typology of sources has been privileged over the others. All primary sources – ranging from poetry to historiography, epigraphy, visual arts and archaeology – have been considered. Every source has been analysed in its individuality, against its cultural backdrop and, finally, in relation to the others. This process should ensure that no source was read under the influence of another and, at the same time, that it was not misunderstood because of its isolation. Even though they speak different languages, it should not be forgotten that all types of sources were produced and used in the same culture.⁵ Given these premises, it is important to point out that the purpose of this research is never the individual description and analysis of sources (including visual sources), but the identification of their position and function in the larger picture. The “rite of passage” model and connected theories have been used extensively (cf. below), but not exclusively, to minimise the risk of biased readings engendered by the overimposition of strong and affirmed modern theories on our limited ancient sources.

I anticipate possible concern regarding the scope of this work, both in time and space, that forces us to consider sources from different *poleis* and different centuries together.⁶ Nevertheless, every care has been taken to avoid misconceptions. Whenever possible, geographical and chronological relationships have been underlined; sources are grouped geographically, and particular attention has been paid to the chronological relationships between sources within the same geographical context and between different contexts, especially regarding continuity or discontinuity in the traits of our

⁵ “Verbal and visual signs communicate ideas pertinent to the same discourses, circulating in the same social contexts” (Ferrari 2002, 62).

⁶ E.g. Ferrari 2002, 9-10.

characters. Sources are never isolated from their cultural backdrop, as the purpose of this project is not only to reconstruct the story of the Leucippides and of their attestations but to understand the position of the Leucippides within the mythological and religious landscape of the Greeks.

Claiming absolute innovativeness of this methodology would be inappropriate, but it can be stated that this study can hardly fit a univocal definition or be inserted in a single group of previous studies; instead, it places itself in an open dialogue with monographic studies on individual characters, criticism of the literary sources and iconographic studies on the wider themes of abduction and marriage.⁷ Furthermore, its immediate reference points are also gender studies in the Greek world, enquiries into the status and cult of heroines and their relationship with festivals, local cults and the Olympian pantheon, and research on female rites of passage, on the relationship between myth, art and society and on the meaning of marriage and abduction in both art and society.⁸

A critical methodological point needs to be made. Some – if not most – of the questions that this thesis asks do not offer univocal or certain answers. Therefore, the highly speculative nature of many parts of the following discussion needs to be kept in mind at all time and cannot be stressed often enough. The fragmentary nature and irregularity of appearance of our sources do not allow for a complete, certain, unassailable interpretation, so caution and tentativeness shall be the watchwords of the whole study. I shall offer possible interpretations grounded on plausible and converging – although not final – proof. Having noted the difficulties inherent to the object of the research and the occasionally shaky ground on which interpretations might be based, the overall aim of this study is still to take a tentative step forward compared to what has been done so far on the topic. The result pursued is a complete picture of the Leucippides and their myth, capable of doing some justice to their complex nature in the larger picture: the Leucippides are, therefore, presented in all

⁷ E.g. Avagianou 1991 on Greek wedding, Sourvinou-Inwood 1991 on abduction, Barringer 1995 monography on the Nereids in Greek art, Sens 1997 on Theocritus.

⁸ E.g. Calame 1977a and Dowden 1989 on female rites of passage, Jenkins 1983 on abduction and wedding, Oakley and Sinos 1993 on Greek wedding, Larson 1995 and Lyons 1997 on heroine cults, Shapiro 2002 on myth and art.

their embodiments and not in isolated instances as done so far, to free them from their long-standing neglect and aura of unimportance.

Some introductory remarks on terminology and organisation are warranted. The first and most relevant point concerns myth. In a work on a specific myth, in fact, it is not possible to evade the larger question on the nature of myth itself. What is myth, as a concept and a category, how was it used by the Greeks, and how can it be understood and used by modern scholars?

It is not possible to pursue, in these few pages, a complete overview of the whole matter, on which thousands of pages have already been written, and many are certainly still to come. For our purposes, I shall only point out the standard theories and studies in contemporary scholarship, in which a much deeper and more elaborate analysis than I could present in this introduction is offered. More relevantly to our discussion, I shall explain my placement in the field and, therefore, the definition of myth I adopted in this work, my approach to myth and the relationship between myth and sources as I shall use them.

What is a myth? The popularity of the question in modern scholarship has fluctuated in the last two centuries, without ever disappearing completely, especially since a satisfying answer has never been found. Many theories have tried to give a comprehensive framework capable of accounting for the multifaceted reality of myth. To consider only the modern, surviving systems, we must quote Dumézil's new comparative mythology, psychoanalysis, Lévi-Strauss' structuralism, the myth-ritual theory, the historicism of the Rome school and the anthropological approach of the Paris school.⁹ The most recent studies, however, treasure the experience accumulated through these theories but try to find a middle ground, in which no theory prevails – as none has proved to be all-encompassing – but some truth can be found in each, as long as excesses are avoided.¹⁰ Therefore, any definition of myth has become by necessity quite general, and no word in any definition can be considered exempt from discussion. A great starting point for our discussion can be found in Bremmer's definition as "traditional tales relevant to society".¹¹

⁹ As a guide, cf. the overviews in Graf 1987, 36-56, Dowden 2002, 28-38 and Csapo 2005.

¹⁰ E.g. Dowden 2002, 38.

¹¹ Bremmer 1987, 7 and 1994, 57.

At its most elemental level, a myth is a tale, as suggested by the oldest meaning of the Greek *μῦθος*, which is an authoritative utterance.¹² Although the meaning of *μῦθος* repeatedly changed throughout Greek history, this first definition is quite useful to modern classification. A myth, in fact, is a *traditional* tale, for which the weight of tradition is a marker of authority.¹³ The idea of traditional, however, is controversial; in Greek myth, it is rarely dependent on the actual antiquity of the tale itself, but on the ways in which it is presented and perceived as such.¹⁴ Therefore, a traditional tale can change throughout time, from a version to the next, without losing its authority, if it is presented in the same authoritative way, inside the same frame capable of fulfilling the audience's expectations (e.g. the authoritative position of the archaic poet or society's shared beliefs).¹⁵ In this context, the authority of the individual performance does not depend on the authority of any given version of the story; there is no authoritative version, but a "plot" (thus ensuring that the story is still recognisable despite its changes and related to other versions) that can be adapted to different circumstances, needs, performances, genres and audiences.¹⁶ This type of traditional tale is separate from history, but at the same time, it exists in a sense of continuity with it.¹⁷ It narrates of a time "before things were as they are now", but a time in which "things as they are now" have their roots. It is clearly distinguished from other traditional stories such as sagas, legends, folktales and fairy stories;¹⁸ these differences can be summed up in some main features.

In Bremmer's words, myth is "relevant to society"; myth is a traditional tale *with socio-cultural meaning* and of collective importance.¹⁹ Its purpose is, certainly, to

¹² Cf. in Homer. Edmunds 2014, 10-11.

¹³ This point implies that an identifiable author is not necessary. Cf. Edmunds 2014, 15.

¹⁴ New myths follow the patterns of old myths (Bremmer 1994, 57; Bremmer 2011b, 539). Cf. also Brillante 1990, 120; des Bouvrie 2002, 22-23, 27; Edmonds 2004, 5-6; Edmunds 2014, 5.

¹⁵ E.g. Pirenne-Delforge 2009, 49. A myth transmits a message more powerfully than an invented story because the authority lies in the frame, not in the story itself (cf. Hall 2007, 350).

¹⁶ Brillante 1990, 115; Bremmer 1994, 57; Hall 2007, 332; Bremmer 2009, 670. Therefore, the use and meaning of a certain myth can change together with a change in the circumstances of its presentation (cf. Edmunds 2014, 11). Cf. below on the mythological system.

¹⁷ Myth tells the deeds of the great men of a past age that is clearly separated from the age of contemporary men but also connected to it through genealogies and space markers remaining in the contemporary landscape (Graf 1987, 129-130; Brillante 1990, 101; Graf 2011, 215; Edmunds 2014, 91; Johnston 2015, 190).

¹⁸ Dowden 2002, 5-7; Edmunds 2014, 7-8.

¹⁹ Bremmer 1994, 57. Cf. also Buxton 1994, 15-16. "Myths were never told without a motive" (Edmunds 2014, 14).

entertain, but not only or even mostly.²⁰ Myth organises time, space, history and society itself. In other words, myth is strictly connected to a society's identity and is grounded in the shared knowledge of a community;²¹ "it illustrate[s] and define[s] the roles of gods and heroes; it explain[s] aspects of rituals; show[s] correct and deviant patterns of behaviour, and reflect[s] on human behaviour and the cosmos".²² This useful definition can be divided into two parts: myth is relevant because it explains religion, and myth is relevant because it explains society.

The relationship between myth and ritual is at the centre of one of the most active and influential schools of interpretation of myth in the twentieth century. Both, in fact, are symbolic systems, often working in partnership and providing complementary answers to similar questions and needs. While the connection in itself is often evident, the reasons, origins and direction of such a connection have been largely debated. Myths can be born to explain rituals, rituals can re-enact myths, and both myth and ritual can develop in parallel as symmetrical answers to the same need. All possibilities have been observed, but it does not seem to be possible to distinguish which came first in every case.²³ Not all myths find their meaning in ritual; however, in the cases in which it is applicable, it is a productive and effective interpretation. In particular, this thesis will deal with female maturation, a field in which the connection between myths and rituals has been widely recognised and accepted. In these cases, it is especially clear that myth and ritual address the same problem (a problem of great relevance to Greek society) in different but complementary ways.

On the other hand, myth is relevant to society because it offers models of behaviour, a key to interpreting reality and a justification to society's organisation.²⁴ However, myth does not operate on a purely rational, didactic level but also on the level of emotions.²⁵ Myth influences the audience's way of thinking;²⁶ at the same

²⁰ Bremmer 1994, 58.

²¹ Pirenne-Delforge 2008b, 65 and 2009, 38-39; Dowden and Livingstone 2011, 6.

²² Bremmer 1994, 55 and, similarly, 58. Cf. also Buxton 1994, 163, 169-181.

²³ Bremmer 1994, 61-65; Buxton 1994, 151-155; Versnel 1994, 43-44, 57-62; Dowden 2002, 105; Bremmer 2011b, 541-543.

²⁴ Des Bouvrie 2002, 28-29, 60; Hall 2007, 332; Bremmer 2009, 683; Johnston 2015, 191.

²⁵ Buxton 1994, 175-177, 213-217; des Bouvrie 2002, 36, 60; Dowden and Livingstone 2011, 9-10.

²⁶ "Pragmatic effect" (cf. Calame 2011; Johnston 2015).

time, it needs to meet the audience's cultural expectations,²⁷ thus operating inside a circular process of reciprocal influences between cultural context and cultural product. A successful myth (or variation) must fit inside this process and remain relevant to its society. Because of their close connection to a specific context, myths are usually born on a local level, but the clustering of stories inside a shared culture soon formed a Panhellenic system, which remained in constant tension with local traditions.²⁸

This last point leads us directly to another peculiarity of myth that sets it apart from other traditional tales. A myth is identifiable because it operates *inside a wider system*, which we may call Mythology or simply myth.²⁹ It is a repertoire of stories, motifs and characters (gods and heroes) with recognisable traits,³⁰ forming an open-ended system,³¹ and including all the underlying knowledge shared by a society that an individual must possess to recognise and understand a mythological utterance.³² For our purpose, we may consider it an intertext, in which all stories are connected and understood in relation to each other.³³ Each new variation can be understood in relation to previous representations of the same story and of every other story connected to it.³⁴ Pluralism is, therefore, embedded in it.³⁵ The survival and transmission of any element of such a system do not depend on any specific literary fixation or individual performance.³⁶

Naturally, this system is a mental, cultural construct that cannot be “seen” but materialises only in individual performances, which, for us, are limited to literary and

²⁷ This point will be particularly relevant in chapter 4. Cf. Edmonds 2004, 6; Bremmer 2009, 670; Dowden and Livingstone 2011, 10.

²⁸ Dowden 2002, 9; Graf 2011, 211-212.

²⁹ From the point of view of structuralism, Mythology is a *langue* while the individual performance of a myth is a *parole*, the understanding of which is dependent on the familiarity with the *langue* to which it belongs. Cf. recently des Bouvrie 2002, 20; Hall 2007, 333; Dowden and Livingstone 2011, 3; Edmonds 2014, 15-17.

³⁰ Cf. Buxton 1994, 15; “motifs and patterns of action” in Edmonds 2004, 6-8.

³¹ Bremmer 1987, 3-4; Buxton 1994, 16; Bremmer 2011b, 540.

³² Edmonds 2004, 12.

³³ Dowden 2002, 7-8; Dowden and Livingstone 2011, 4. This intertext is a continuum of different media, encompassing oral, written and iconographic transmission. Cf. Buxton 1994, 49; Edmonds 2014, 15, 393-394.

³⁴ Brillante 1990, 116; Dowden 2002, 8; Edmonds 2014, 15.

³⁵ Brillante 1990, 111; Buxton 1994, 17. Graf 2011, 216 underlines the geographical component of this pluralism: incompatible stories belong to local traditions that do not influence each other, so that no compromise is necessary. Cf. also Edmonds 2014, 5-6.

³⁶ According to Edmonds 2014, 6-7, they belong to popular oral storytelling.

visual sources;³⁷ therefore, its existence and identification are highly controversial and bordering on philosophical and psychological matters. The existence of myth as a category, while accepted by many scholars, has been questioned in recent years.³⁸ However, the absence of a specific word does not necessarily imply the absence of the concept itself.³⁹ The Greeks seemed to have a clear idea of myths as an interlinked system,⁴⁰ and of what belonged to the system (and was, therefore, an acceptable story) and what did not (and was, for instance, a parody, an unacceptable variation or simply belonged to a different type of narration).

To sum up, I understand myth as a traditional tale that is relevant to society; it does not exist in a vacuum but in relation to similar stories inside a system of knowledge shared by a society. It reflects a society's cultural expectations but, at the same time, influences society by offering models and explanations about religion, the world and society itself. Therefore, it adapts to different needs in different contexts. Its authoritativeness comes from the weight of tradition, but a story does not need to be old or immutable to be perceived as traditional. These considerations should be read as the backdrop against which this dissertation is to be understood and, henceforth, will be taken for granted.

Let us move on with some other introductory remarks. Another important question concerns the use of the Dioscuri in this work. The main episode in the life of the Leucippides is their abduction by the Dioscuri. Collateral episodes concern their marriage to the Dioscuri and the birth of their children. Only in Sparta do we find traces of the Leucippides' existence without the Dioscuri. Their stories are deeply intertwined, so the Dioscuri are a constant presence throughout this study. Giving a complete picture of them is not the purpose of this thesis, but it will often be necessary to introduce the Dioscuri at the beginning of a chapter or section to set the stage for the Leucippides. Some guidelines on the appearance of the Dioscuri in the geographical locations considered will be vital to understanding how they interact with

³⁷ We do not have access to the society in which these beliefs were alive and shared or to the natives' reception of them, which included "their culturally structured perception of the world" (des Bouvrie 2002, 19).

³⁸ E.g. the absence of a specific term to describe the phenomenon as a whole in Greek (cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2008b, 65 and 2009, 38). Cf. Calame 1990, 278-280; 1996, 1-34; 2007, 259-260, 281-282.

³⁹ E.g. des Bouvrie 2002, 14.

⁴⁰ E.g. genealogies. Cf. systematization in Graf 1987, 125-126.

the Leucippides in that context. The Dioscuri are, in fact, better attested and studied, which is why this study does not deal with them primarily but uses them as the natural backdrop of the much less considered Leucippides.⁴¹ Such digressions, therefore, will be a necessary element of our discussion, as two sides of the same coin.

Secondly, a recurring theme throughout our discussion will be rites of passage and initiations, which offer one of the conceptual frameworks of this thesis. The topic has attracted much scholarly attention during the twentieth century; since the key study of van Gennep, rites of passage in Greece have been extensively discussed – first, the rites concerning males, then females.⁴² More recently, positions undisputed for decades have been called into question once again, to the point of questioning the very existence of rites of passage in Greece.⁴³ Modern critics take issue with calling festivals, performances, rituals and cults connected to different stages of young people's growth "rites of passage" or, even more, "initiations", as the exact stages and meanings of van Gennep's model do not apply to all. Some have proposed the less charged definition of "rituals of coming-of-age".⁴⁴ It is natural that adjustments need to be made for the model to be still productive in such a different society from van Gennep's tribal communities. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the "rites of passage" model still has much to offer to the interpretation of Greek phenomena and should not be discarded. As we shall see, the model, if not applied mechanically, can give us useful insight into the use of exemplary myths, the position of youths and females in society and the meaning of rites and festivals.

In this work, terms such as "rite of passage" and "initiation" will be frequently used. As it is far beyond the scope of this thesis to inquire into the intricacies of this Greece-wide phenomenon, I shall follow in the path set by other scholars on the topic and shall not question the model for the study of initiatory rites, but only adopt it for the specific case of the Leucippides, to whom, I believe, it can be applied with great success. As a rule, I shall use terms such as "rites of passage", "initiation" and

⁴¹ On the Dioscuri, cf. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, Bianchi 1979, D'Anna 1979, Guarducci 1979, Piccaluga 1979, Frauenfelder 1991, Nista 1994, Lippolis 2009, Biscotto 2010, Vaglio 2000, Walker 2015.

⁴² To mention some of the most significant contributions, Jeanmarie 1939, Vidal-Naquet 1968, Brelich 1969, Vernant 1974, Calame 1977a and 1977b, Lincoln 1981, Dowden 1989, Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, Redfield 2003a.

⁴³ In particular, cf. the collection of essays edited by Dodd and Faraone 2003.

⁴⁴ Graf 2003, 15.

“initiatory” to describe in the broadest way a series of ritual moments that mark the social “coming of age”, i.e., the passage of status – or one in a complex series of steps to mark a passage of status – from child to adult, and make it official in the eyes of the community.⁴⁵ In the specific case of females, this passage is articulated as a passage from not-marriageable to marriageable. The adult life of a Greek woman, in fact, was marked by and reached completion through marriage and motherhood; it is not a stretch to believe that the officially recognised transition from childhood to this new status was worthy of notice and celebration. Those passages happen under the protection and guide of specific gods (in the case of girls, mostly Artemis, but also Aphrodite and Hera) and follow mythological paradigms, such as the one offered by the Leucippides.⁴⁶

To conclude, it is essential to present the main themes that will be discussed and the structure of the discussion itself. This thesis is organised around three criteria: geographical, chronological and thematic. Excluding the first chapter, which works as a presentation of the characters, the attestations are divided into three macro-areas of interest: Sparta, Athens and the rest of the Greek world. Where possible, the materials within each geographical context have been organised around themes (e.g. the temple of the Leucippides, the wedding theme or the abduction from a sanctuary); the chronology of the sources and, consequently, the evolution of the themes through time have always been considered and emphasised.

The first chapter presents all Greek literary sources dealing with the myth of the Leucippides; although partially isolated from the following chapters, which have a geographical approach and are mostly focused on visual evidence, this chapter offers a necessary introduction to the following discussion and the first demonstration of the overall method and goals of this study. The chapter collects the literary sources that describe the abduction of the Leucippides, considering the literary and historical context of each and the author’s influence and purposes. The aim is the reconstruction of the myth as it could have been known from the Archaic period onward and its development through time. In particular, the core elements of the story will be

⁴⁵ Therefore, these rites operate on a symbolic level rather than causing an immediate “transformation” in the very nature of the adolescent undertaking them, as expected in a rite of passage proper.

⁴⁶ Kearns 1998, 100.

identified, isolated and analysed: the abduction itself and its follow-up (the wedding and the birth of children). Finally, much space has been given to the presence of the Apharetidae in the abduction episode. According to some versions of the myth, Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus and cousins of both the Dioscuri and the Leucippides, tried to save the Leucippides from the abduction (possibly because they were engaged to the girls in the first place). This attempt ended in the renowned fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae in which the latter were killed and Castor, mortally wounded, obtained a share in his brother's immortality. Although this version of the story has long been assumed to be the standard and most common version, my analysis will demonstrate the originally independent nature of the two episodes (abduction and fight), the derivativeness of the variant in which the two episodes are intertwined and, in particular, the late introduction of a previous engagement between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae. For this purpose, the description of only literary sources is not sufficient; they have been supplemented with parallel visual depictions of the same episode to place the literary sources correctly inside the wider context of their period.

With the second chapter, we move into the geographically structured part of the discussion. Our first stop is Sparta, as the attributed birthplace of the Dioscuri and, as we shall see, also of the Leucippides. The picture of the Spartan Leucippides emerging from our evidence is extremely fragmentary and scattered. Despite most sources being quite late (e.g. Pausanias), there are still consistent traces of a long-standing presence and cult. Of exceptional interest is the existence in Sparta of a sanctuary of the Leucippides, where they were worshipped separately from the Dioscuri; there was also a board of priestesses of the same name. Both facts are exclusive to Sparta. An intricate web of subtle connections ties the priestesses and the temple itself to both Apollo and Dionysus, suggesting that the Leucippides played a more complex part in Spartan cults than originally expected. They seem to be also connected to the Hyacinthia (a festival of Apollo) and, more generally, to female rites of passage and choruses. This exemplary function of myth is the only trait shared by the Spartan Leucippides and their other embodiments in the rest of the Greek world and seems to be intrinsically tied to the nature of the abduction episode itself. The connection with choruses is also suggested by the appearance (or possible appearance) of the Leucippides in choral poetry connected to Sparta, such as Alcman's Louvre *Partheneion* and a fragment of

a dithyramb from Bacchylides. To conclude, we shall examine the two Leucippides' position in Spartan cults in relation to the Dioscuri and to each other, following the traces of their independent existence.

The third chapter deals with the Greek world at large, excluding Athens, and traces the diffusion of the myth of the Leucippides, trying to reconstruct its channels of transmission and the possible, reciprocal influences. The attestations of the myth are divided into geographical sections. Each section considers both artistic and literary evidence (mostly Pausanias) concerning an area. The discussion moves through the Greek world in a spiral of the sort, which follows the geographical expansion of the myth from Sparta toward the edges of Greece and its chronological steps. First, we consider Magna Graecia (Rhegion and Locri), since the oldest preserved appearance of the abduction of the Leucippides comes from Rhegion. The presence of the Dioscuri in Southern Italy is well attested from the Archaic period, especially in Locri, where it is not difficult to picture the Leucippides making an equally early appearance, perhaps also on the famous Locrian terracotta *pinakes*.

The second section deals with Argos, where statues of the Leucippides decorated the sixth-century BC temple of the Dioscuri. The temple has not been found, but the cult of the Dioscuri is well attested. In this context, the Leucippides appeared as the mothers of the Dioscuri's sons, a particular role that transcends their identity as abducted girls and moves them into the realms of wives and mothers. This feature is a peculiarity of their Argive (and not Spartan) identity, but we shall also find a meaningful parallel in Athens.

The chapter then turns to the Leucippides in Delphi. There are two sites in which the presence of the Leucippides has been proposed, although definitive evidence is not currently available: the Siphnian and the Sicyonian Treasuries. To suggest the identification of the abduction of the Leucippides, it is vital to discuss the cultural background of the cities that commissioned the treasuries. In particular, a series of tendrils connects Siphnos to the Peloponnese and the story of the Dioscuri through Paros, Samos and even Athens.

Finally, we move back to Taras, in Magna Graecia. Taras has been isolated from the previous discussion of attestations in Magna Graecia for the following considerations. First and foremost, the sources from Taras are considerably later than

the other sources considered at the beginning of the chapter and also of all the sources discussed in the ensuing sections. Secondly, they are thematically close to questions that emerged in all the other regions considered at an earlier date, which made Taras the ideal conclusion to our survey. Thirdly, some points of interest will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter on Athens; this connection makes Taras an ideal bridge towards the last chapter. Finally, it also concludes our geographical excursion, which led us back to Southern Italy through the Locrian hypothesis concerning the Delphic Monopteros. The abduction of the Leucippides in Taras exhibit some peculiarities, such as the absence of chariots from the abduction scene and the increased degree of violence in the depiction of the scene, which showcase the individuality of Tarantine culture poised between the influences from its mother city, Sparta, and local innovation. Some of these innovations set trends to influence the reception of the scene in neighbouring Greek poleis and even in non-Greek cultures, such as Etruria and Rome.

The last chapter deals with Athens. I chose to separate Athens from the rest of Greece for a practical reason and a structural one: first, because the sheer number of Athenian sources would have overshadowed the other attestations. Secondly, the themes emerging from the Athenian sources are either utterly different from the others and, therefore, deserve a separate discussion or, in other cases, represent the climax and clearest instance of processes we have only partially seen in other poleis. Thus, Athens came as the ideal conclusion to the discussion, the last step in a process of differentiation that has brought the Leucippides from their Spartan identity to their Athenian one, passing through intermediary positions attested throughout the Greek world. This structure highlights both the web of close relationships and reciprocal influences tying the Athenian Leucippides to their embodiments in other cities and the innovations that emerged specifically in the Athenian context. Since the Athenian context is, doubtless, the best known in Ancient Greece, a more complete and highly suggestive reconstruction of the contacts between our myth and society are offered. Therefore, the specific traits of the Athenian Leucippides, particularly concerning the social meaning of the abduction episode, have been identified as being a metaphor of rites of passage to female adulthood and of wedding, and discussed in depth and in relation to the social context, i.e., in relation to the historical development of the

Athenian initiations and weddings, to their depictions and to the ideology and social models underlying it. If we consider their abundance, vase paintings cannot but play a central part in this discussion but are never completely isolated from the wider context offered by literature, material remains and historical reconstruction.

Finally, a series of appendices complete this thesis. The first appendix opens the discussion on Athens to a more comparative approach. The myth of the Leucippides, in fact, did not exist in a vacuum, but side by side with similar myths, all dealing with abductions, rapes, initiations and weddings. In this appendix, I have selected three case studies (the abductions of Theseus, the abduction of Thetis by Peleus and of Persephone by Hades) as the myths that most closely resembled the story of the Leucippides: an abduction resulting in a wedding. Paying particular attention to the Athenian version and reception of the stories, I have briefly analysed and compared them to the abduction of the Leucippides, highlighting the shared traits and the peculiarities of each. The purpose is to show the specific value and uniqueness of the Leucippides myth against the mythological backdrop offered by similar and better-known stories.

The other two appendices are practical addenda to the discussion, as they offer a catalogue of the visual and literary sources considered. Wherever possible, each visual source is represented by a picture, and details about its identification are offered. The literary texts are presented in their original language; where not otherwise stated, the translations are my own.



1. Introduction to the Characters: the Myth in Literary Sources

By Leucippides (gr. Λευκίπιδες), we mean a pair of sisters, denoted by their patronymic as daughters of Leucippus, a Messenian king, brother of Tyndareus (the Dioscuri's human father). Their mother is called Philodice, daughter of the Argive king Inachus, according to Tzetzes.¹ The Byzantine erudite of the twelfth century is the only source to mention the Leucippides' mother. Particularly meaningful is Apollodorus' silence since he carefully lists genealogies whenever this type of information is available to him. Philodice, therefore, is an evanescent character, who has no relevance in myth; there is no specific story connected to her, and she never plays an active role in any episode, not even in relation to her daughters' story. The existence itself of such a Philodice is dubious, even though modern scholars have been carelessly using her name for years. Tzetzes' genealogy would make her a sister of Io, but she is never mentioned in her sister's story. Also, such a genealogy would place Leucippus' wife about eleven generations before him;² although Greek genealogical sequences in myth are usually quite flexible, the chronological chasm, in this case, would be too wide to be plausible. Obviously, the Leucippides must have had a mother, but her identity was, possibly, considered so irrelevant to disappear from the sources. We might suppose, therefore, that Tzetzes could have confused either her name or her father with another character, possibly because of a similarity in names.

On the other hand, the Leucippides' individual names are inconsistent throughout the sources, too; the most commonly attested are Hilaeira and Phoibe, which seem to be standardisations of a small range of local names and different spellings. Individual names, though, do not seem to have had mythical significance, as the two girls do not usually appear on their own, and their collective patronymic is unambiguous. However, names bear some meaning with respect to the geographical distribution of the myth, as we shall see in the following chapters. Occasionally,

¹ *Ad Lycophronem* 511 (T29).

² Io – Epaphus – Libya – Belus – Aegyptus – Lynceus – Abas – Acrisius – Danae – Perseus – Gorgophone – Leucippus.

another daughter of Leucippus, called Arsinoe, makes her appearance; unless specifically stated, though, she is not considered by ancient authors one of the Leucippides properly speaking. In fact, by “Leucippides” the sources mean the two girls who belong to a specific mythological episode: their abduction by the Dioscuri.

Therefore, the story of the Leucippides is deeply entwined with the Dioscuri’s. The Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeukes, are the most famous twins of Greek myth. Their mother, Queen Leda of Sparta, was seduced by Zeus; the Dioscuri (i.e. sons of Zeus) were born from this union, although some sources state that only Polydeukes was the son of Zeus, while Castor belonged to Leda’s mortal husband, King Tyndareus. Among their heroic deeds, the Dioscuri abducted the Leucippides to marry them. This is the only mythological episode that concerns the Leucippides.

In this chapter, we shall consider the literary sources of the myth of the Leucippides. Our main concern will be the existence of a “standard” version or, in other words, the isolation of the fundamental, identifying traits of the episode. To this purpose, we shall isolate another collateral trait, the introduction of the Apharetidae, Idas and Lynceus, cousins of the Leucippides, within the story of the abduction. As we shall discuss, late traditions (and modern scholars) often assume that the connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and the fatal duel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae is a standard, necessary feature of the story; proving that it is not so shall be the main purpose of this chapter. The preserved sources are limited in number and poor in details, mostly late or fragmentary. Therefore, it will be necessary, on occasion, to introduce some visual material, in anticipation of the perspective we shall adopt in the following chapters. This chapter aims to offer an introduction to the story of the Leucippides and to the topics that will be discussed in the following chapters, with a particular focus on the use of our episode in literary sources, in opposition to the wider scope of the other chapters.

1.1. *A Standard Version?*

As anticipated, the literary sources dealing with the abduction of the Leucippides are extremely limited in number, and the amount of detail offered by them is disappointing. However, this does not seem to be due to a late appearance of the story or to its nature as a secondary, unacknowledged episode, but to an accident of transmission. As we shall see in the following chapters, the myth was known in various geographical contexts from at least the sixth century BC, when it first appeared in preserved visual sources; older literary sources concerning the abduction of the Leucippides are not preserved, but there are suggestions in ancient authors of earlier written versions. For instance, Phoibe is mentioned in a fragment of a commentary to Alcman, suggesting that Alcman already dealt with the story of the Leucippides in his works.³ Another *scholion* suggests that there was a “catalogue of the Leucippides” in Hesiod (presumably in a lost section of the *Catalogue of Women*).⁴ Proclus’ *Argumentum* of the *Cypria* does not mention the abduction of the Leucippides, but Pausanias attests that the Leucippides were present in the *Cypria* (and were also said to be daughters of Apollo).⁵

Most of the Archaic and Classical sources in which the Leucippides appear are visual; to find the first preserved literary sources dealing with their complete story, we must wait for the Hellenistic period. Even in this period, however, the sources are limited in number and poor in details. Therefore, the identification of a “standard” version of their story is not a straightforward process. In particular, the nature of the Hellenistic sources has given rise to a common misunderstanding; scholars have long believed that the version of the story that makes its appearance in Hellenistic poetry (Theocritus and Lycophron) and, occasionally, in late Classical and early Hellenistic pottery must have been the only – or at least the main – version of the story.⁶ According to this version, the Leucippides were engaged to the Apharetidae, Idas and Lynceus, their cousins. However, the Dioscuri abducted them to marry them themselves. The Apharetidae pursued them, and a fight ensued. The Apharetidae were both killed,

³ Cf. section 2.7.

⁴ Schol. Hes. *Theog.* 142 (fr. 52 M-W) (T4).

⁵ Pausanias 3.16.1 (T18).

⁶ Theocritus 22 (T9); Lycophron 535-549 (T10); fig. 15-16.

while the Dioscuri were elevated to the rank of gods. We shall examine this narrative outline in the following section; for the moment, suffice it to say that the oldest literary and iconographical sources disagree with this assumption, as the abduction is not usually followed by the duel, and the duel itself usually follows another episode (a cattle raid). The abduction exists on its own, and so does the duel. Consequently, we shall assume that at least two versions of the episode existed: one with the Apharetidae and one without them. However, the duel with the Apharetidae is not a necessary part of the story, as it can be present or not. Therefore, we shall now focus on the abduction and consider it the fundamental core of the story of the Leucippides. In the following section, we shall deal with the Apharetidae version, its origin and meaning.

One of the most complete sources we have for mythology is Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*.⁷ The author talks of the abduction of the Leucippides in two instances.⁸ While enumerating the descendants of Cynortas, he mentions Aphareus and his sons (Idas and Lynceus), then his brother Leucippus and his daughters; concerning the latter, he states that the Dioscuri married them after abducting them.⁹ It is worth pointing out that the Leucippides come immediately after the Apharetidae, but no connection between the two pairs of siblings is mentioned. Secondly, the story of the Leucippides is told in more details while discussing the genealogy of the Dioscuri. According to Apollodorus, the Dioscuri wanted to marry the daughters of Leucippus, so they did so after abducting them from Messenia. Each couple had a son.¹⁰ The duel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae is also known to Apollodorus but, as expected, it follows the cattle raid and is accordingly discussed immediately after it.¹¹

⁷ The author of the *Bibliotheca* will be here referred to as "Apollodorus" for the sake of simplicity, following the traditional denomination of the otherwise unknown writer.

⁸ The trustworthiness of the author of the *Bibliotheca* has been largely debated in the last century. Whether he referred directly to the original sources or, more probably, to a selection of older mythological manuals, the relevance of his work to the modern scholar concerned with Greek mythology cannot be overstated. The *Bibliotheca* is, in fact, the most complete, rich and systematic collection of Greek myths that came to us. The author's use of his sources is not always easy to trace, the organisation of the material seems to suggest a strong editorial presence and, naturally, not all myths known are considered; nevertheless, his synthesis of mythological stories, obtained through a collation of sources (possibly second-hand sources, but by no means necessarily fallacious), as suggested by the accumulation of variants of the same episode, is a useful instrument to assess the knowledge of myth in the first/second century AD. On his sources, e.g. van der Valk 1958, Huys 1997, Cameron 2004, Fletcher 2008.

⁹ Apollodorus 3.10.3 (T11).

¹⁰ Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12).

¹¹ Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12).

The author does not dwell on the details of the story, but the fundamental traits of the episode are evident: it is an abduction (the word ἀρπάσαντες is used in both cases), the stated purpose of the abduction is marriage, no other characters are involved, and the abduction is successful and is followed by a wedding and the birth of children. For this last point to happen, the Dioscuri needed to survive the abduction; it is, therefore, clear that this version is not compatible with the deadly duel.

The same observation – that the duel cannot follow the abduction if the abduction is followed by a wedding and the birth of children – can be found (repeatedly) in Tzetzes' commentary to Lycophron's *Alexandra*. Tzetzes, while enumerating the descendants of Cynortas, talks first of the Apharetidae, then of the Leucippides and, finally, of the Dioscuri. Tzetzes' account is the same as that recounted in Apollodorus, with the only difference being the names of the Dioscuri's sons; the Dioscuri, having abducted the daughters of Leucippus (ἀρπάσαντες) from Messenia, married them (ἔγημαν) and, from these unions, children were born.¹² His position is reiterated some lines later, when he openly criticises Lycophron's story, dismissing it as nonsense (Lycophron ληρεῖ, in his words).¹³ According to him, it is not possible that the duel immediately followed the abduction, as implied by Lycophron, since the Dioscuri already had children by the Leucippides when the duel happened. Curiously, he adopts the opposite position in the *Chiliades*, in which he states that the duel happened because both the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae desired the Leucippides.¹⁴ However, he is quite imprecise in pinpointing his sources. He talks of the abduction as the cause of the fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae, then describes the duel, and finally mentions some sources for the version of the story he reports, but it is not clear whether he refers to the whole episode (abduction and duel) or only to the duel. In particular, he quotes some lines from Stasinus (i.e., the *Cypria*) that refer exclusively to the duel. He also mentions Apollodorus but, as just seen, Apollodorus separates the two episodes neatly. Therefore, his sources did not necessarily deal with the abduction of the Leucippides in connection with the duel but, more probably, described only the

¹² Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem*, 511 (T29).

¹³ Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 549 (T29).

¹⁴ Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 2.48.686-716 (T30).

duel, in connection with the cattle raid.¹⁵ Finally, in another passage, he also seems to know another version, in which it is Idas who abducts the Leucippides who were engaged to the Dioscuri;¹⁶ it is possible, though, that he simply misreads Lycophron's passage, which is extremely ambiguous, possibly confusing it with the story attested in Plutarch, *Theseus* 31, in which the Apharetidae abducted Helen, according to some unspecified and unpreserved Athenian sources. This might justify his statement that Lycophron ληρεῖ, as this interpretation of the story would be otherwise unattested.

At this point, Tzetzes does not appear to be a trustworthy source in our research of the most authoritative version of the story. However, even though he adopts one version or the other inconsistently, it seems clear that at least both versions – with and without the Apharetidae – were known to the Byzantine scholar;¹⁷ another useful example from an earlier Byzantine scholar comes from Stephanus of Alexandria's commentary to Aristotle, to be read in parallel with Aristotle's passage itself.¹⁸ Aristotle uses the abduction of the Leucippides as a mythological *exemplum*, in parallel with Alexander's abduction of Helen; the meaning of the dense passage is explained by Stephanus. Mentioning the Apharetidae would not have been necessary to make his point, but some details show that the version known to, or preferred by, Stephanus did not involve them at all. First, he says that the Dioscuri abducted the Leucippides ἔτι παρθένους οὔσας, when they were still παρθένοι, which does not suggest a previous engagement or an impending wedding. More importantly, he is aware that there is a "common" version, which he adopts (for it, he refers to a *lexicon* to Homer),¹⁹ and a "deviant" one, which is attested by Lycophron, who says something different about both the Leucippides and the Apharetidae. Stephanus does not explain how, but we know the version attested by Lycophron and, therefore, know that the connection between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae that appears in Lycophron was regarded

¹⁵ The other names he makes are Lycophron, of whom we have spoken previously and whom we shall discuss in detail in the following section, and Euripides. No preserved work from Euripides talks of the abduction of the Leucippides, although. Possibly, what Tzetzes has in mind is one of the passages concerning the deification of the Dioscuri (*Helen* 1495-1505, 1642-1645, 1658-1669; *Orestes* 1635-1637, 1682-1690; *Electra* 1238-1243, 1292-1300, 1327-1330, 1347-1356).

¹⁶ Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem*, 538 (T29).

¹⁷ Possibly, the commentary reflects a position closer to Tzetzes' own opinion on the story, while the *Chiliades* seem to refer to positions attested in other sources.

¹⁸ *Stephani in Rhetor.* II 23.5 (T28); Aristotle 1397b 20-23 (T8).

¹⁹ It would be particularly interesting to know why the Leucippides were in this *lexicon*, as they do not appear in Homer.

as an irregularity by Stephanus. The fact that Aristotle puts on the same level (he is discussing comparisons of equal or parallel *exempla*) the abduction of the Leucippides and of Helen could make us suspect that the status of the abducted women was parallel, too, suggesting that, for Aristotle, the Leucippides were married (as Helen was) at the time of their abduction. However, the *exemplum* immediately before compares Theseus' abduction of Helen to Alexander's; immediately after, Aristotle states that, as Hector should not be blamed for killing Patroclus, so is Alexander blameless for killing Achilles. What is clear from the other three examples is that the comparisons are based only on the action itself. Helen, when abducted by Theseus, was a child, the opposite of her status as a wife and a mother when Paris abducted her. Similarly, the circumstances of the deaths mentioned in the following lines are completely different; Hector killed Patroclus in a fair duel and counting on his strengths, while Alexander killed Achilles from afar, hiding, and with Apollo's guidance. The parallel, therefore, does not seem to consider the different circumstances but points out the resemblances in cases that are only apparently and superficially diverse (i.e. because of different circumstances): abductions concerning Helen or her family and deaths of the most important heroes of the Trojan War.²⁰ Therefore, a previous wedding of the Leucippides does not seem necessary to understand this passage and, if we trust Stephanus, was not read as such by later scholars.²¹

The family tree of the Leucippides and the version of the abduction told by Tzetzes in his commentary to Lycophron look extremely similar to Apollodorus' passage; however, if Stephanus has the same version of the abduction in mind, and it was also told in a Homeric lexicon, it means that Apollodorus must not have been the only source for it. On the other hand, both our sources (Tzetzes and Stephanus) seem to know a version without the Apharetidae and to consider it the main version of the episode. Both refer to Lycophron as the exception, and if Tzetzes can even dismiss Lycophron's version as nonsense, we can imagine that it looked like a secondary version to him or even an absolute innovation that did not fit well in the "standard" or

²⁰ Argument from analogy. Cf. Sandys and Cope 2006, 248.

²¹ It should be noted that the *Rhetorics* is dated to the late fourth century BC, a date compatible with the appearance of the connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and the Apharetidae in Apulian pottery, as discussed below; however, there are no further traces of a wedding between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae before Imperial sources (cf. section 1.2.1).

most widely known version. In the passage from the *Chiliades*, he seems to retract his position; the fact that he now considers the Apharetidae version reliable is an incompatible inconsistency on his part, but it should be noted again that the point he tries to make is not about the abduction, but about the duel with the Apharetidae and its consequences. The sources he puts forward, in fact, seem to deal specifically with the duel and the deification of the Dioscuri, rather than with the abduction of the Leucippides.

In this section, we have referred several times to a wedding between the Leucippides and the Dioscuri, and to the birth of children from this union. We shall come back in detail to the topic in the following chapters, because it is particularly relevant from a geographical point of view (it involves the local cult of the Dioscuri in Argos and Athens specifically, but also in Sparta) and it can be better discussed through the analysis of visual, and not only written, sources. However, the point I would like to make here concerns the existence itself of these traditions, in order to introduce the discussion of a “life beyond the abduction” for the Leucippides. Although it is not a well-known aspect of the myth, the birth of children from their union with the Dioscuri is well attested. As mentioned above, it is known to Apollodorus, Pausanias and Tzetzes, among literary authors, but Pausanias recognises the wedding of the Leucippides or the children of the Dioscuri in at least three different iconographic contexts: the throne of Apollo in Amyklai, the temple of the Dioscuri in Argos and the *Anakeion* in Athens.²² Naturally, this version is not compatible with the duel with the Apharetidae, as the Dioscuri need to survive the abduction in order to marry the Leucippides and have children from them. Therefore, it is interesting to notice how, in the sources that mix the two episodes, the Leucippides disappear from the story without a trace (e.g. in Theocritus 22) while, in the sources that clearly isolate the abduction as an independent episode, the Leucippides’ story can move forward (e.g. Apollodorus).

To sum up, it is possible to identify a well-attested version of the abduction of the Leucippides that is characterised by the abduction of παρθένοι who are not otherwise engaged, a wedding and the birth of children. The meaning of such an

²² Respectively, 3.18.13 (T21), 2.22.5 (T16) and 1.18.1 (T15).

episode is clear; the abduction is only a means to an end and requires a wedding to complete it and give it sense and direction. The use of abduction episodes and scenes as metaphors for the wedding or initiatory passages to the wedding shall be discussed in the following chapters. For the moment, it is important to stress that the abduction of the Leucippides by the Dioscuri is an independent, self-contained episode with a precise meaning and clear identifying traits, which does not require the involvement of other characters. I believe that the original kernel of the episode can be recognised in this version. The previous engagement to the Apharetidae and the connection with the deadly duel between them and the Dioscuri, instead, seem to be Hellenistic innovations or, at least, a secondary version that gained importance thanks to the artistic relevance of the poets who adopted it. The origins, meaning and development of this version shall be discussed in the following section.

1.2. The Apharetidae

In the previous section, we have discussed the fundamental traits of the abduction as an isolated episode and its sources. The basic traits of this story are the same as most abduction stories in the Greek world: an abductor, an abducted girl and the identification (and possible reaction) of her family. The meaning and purpose of this narrative structure are connected to wedding practices, as we shall see in later chapters. However, in the specific case of the abduction of the Leucippides, we have the introduction of another story: the abduction from a betrothed, and his violent reaction. This variation spread quickly, and modern scholars are often led by the predominant quality of late sources to the belief that the two episodes had always been intertwined. However, the connection is much later and not as well established as usually assumed.

First, we shall introduce the characters involved. The Apharetidae, Idas and Lynceus, were the sons of Aphareus, a Messenian king, although some traditions report that Idas was the son of Poseidon.²³ Aphareus' genealogy is not univocal either; he was a son of Perieres and brother of Leucippus and either a brother (Apollodorus

²³ Simonides 563 PMG; Apollodorus 3.10.3 (T11).

3.10.3) or half-brother (Pausanias 3.1.4) of Tyndareus. Interestingly, Idas and Lynceus had a third brother, Peisus, who is not counted among the Apharetidae,²⁴ similarly to Arsinoe with regard to the Leucippides. The two brothers were included among the Argonauts and took part in the Calydonian Boar Hunt; Idas alone is connected to an individual deed, the abduction of Marpessa, daughter of Evenus, who preferred him to Apollo. They had a daughter, Cleopatra/Alcyone, who married Meleager.²⁵

The Apharetidae are also known for the mythological episode involving their death and the deification of the Dioscuri. The story is well attested. The Dioscuri and the Apharetidae fought in a double duel, in which Lynceus killed Castor and was, in turn, killed by Polydeukes; Idas attempted to avenge his brother, but Zeus' bolt struck him dead, preventing him from throwing a large stone at Polydeukes. Zeus, moved by his son Polydeukes' prayers, intervened and allowed the twins to share Polydeukes' immortality, thus becoming gods on alternate days. The oldest source preserved to describe the episode in detail is Pindar's *Nemean* 10, but it already appeared in the *Cypria*. Proclus' *Argumentum*, although succinct, presents all the elements of the story. It has been supposed, in fact, that Pindar found his source for this story in the *Cypria*.²⁶ To support this point, one might point to a *scholion* to Pindar that suggests that ancient scholars read Pindar's passage in relation to its *locus parallelus* in the *Cypria*.²⁷ A comparable version of the story can also be found in Apollodorus and Pausanias.²⁸ The most relevant point to make for our discussion is the reason for this fight; all the sources mentioned above agree in giving the same cause, stolen cattle, with some variants. The *Argumentum* states that the Dioscuri stole cattle from the Apharetidae, Pindar and Pausanias both make a vague reference to cattle, and Apollodorus gives a complete version of the episode. He narrates that the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae took part in a joint cattle raid; at the moment of dividing the spoils, Idas won a meat-eating competition and took away all the stolen cattle. The Dioscuri, however, did not accept this result and stole the cattle back from their cousins, who attacked them. Although this version appears only in Apollodorus, it seems compatible with the

²⁴ Apollodorus 3.10.3 (T11).

²⁵ The story is already told in *Il.* 9.557-564.

²⁶ Sbardella 2003, 136-137.

²⁷ Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 10.110 (T5).

²⁸ Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12); Pausanias 4.3.1.

shorter mentions in the other sources. The cattle raid also appears in early artistic depictions; for instance, it has been recognised in the decoration of the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi of the first half of the sixth century BC.²⁹

Therefore, the fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae is well attested as an independent episode, from an early date down to the Imperial period, and by a range of authoritative sources that do not contradict each other. As introduced in the preceding section, the abduction of the Leucippides is also attested at least from the sixth century BC as an independent episode. Therefore, there is no reason to support the hypothesis that the two episodes were originally or widely thought of as connected. Instead, they seem to belong to different traditions or, better, to different mythological *topoi*: the theme of the abduction of the bride structures one, while the theme of the cattle raid and its consequences the other. We shall point out that the two stories have a common underlying meaning, as both express initiatory values; stealing cattle and stealing a bride are similar (but not corresponding) activities of young males in archaic Greek culture reflected in myth and are meant to prepare them for adult life.³⁰ The acquisition of a bride is, in fact, an introductory (and necessary) passage before marriage, while cattle raiding and the resulting local skirmishes are preparation for war.³¹ Marriage (and, therefore, reproduction) and war are the marks of active adulthood in the world of myth – a world that predates the institution of the polis and, therefore, the active participation to its life as a mark of adulthood.³² The fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae belongs to the theme of cattle-raiding skirmishes, while similar fights are not attested in relation to abductions.

To reinforce this point, we should also notice that, despite being usually called a duel, this is not a Homeric duel, meaning a formalised, heroic duel. It is, instead, an irregular skirmish; it is not framed by a war, but fought privately, on a very small scale. The fight takes on the traits of the marginal existence of pre-adults in initiatory

²⁹ Cf. section 3.3.2.

³⁰ On the “twin nature” of possessing women and animals, cf. Walcot 1979, 328-329. Walker 2015, 173 maintains that “raiding livestock and abducting women are the main achievements of a Greek hero”, which is a clear overstatement; they are the main achievements of an epehebic hero, but an adult hero demonstrates his value in war.

³¹ Cf. Nestor’s tale in *Il.* 11.670-762. On the topic, cf. Walcot 1979, 332-341; Vidal-Naquet 1986, 129-131. A similar function can also be recognised in hunts.

³² Those marks, however, will not be replaced in the historical Greek world, but just juxtaposed to the political activity of the adult male in the polis.

societies: the use of unconventional weapons such as stones (Idas tries to kill Polydeukes with a stone – in some versions his own father’s gravestone), the mountain woods that are the location of the fight (on Mount Taygetus) and the ambush dynamics (the Dioscuri hide in a hollow oak). Stones do appear as weapons in the epics, and are used by adult heroes in war, but only occasionally.³³ Historically, throwing stones concerns only light-armed men (i.e. skirmishers and ephebes), not hoplites.³⁴ In myth, stones are usually the weapon of the uncivilised (e.g. Polyphemos) and of angry mobs (e.g. Neoptolemos’ death at Delphi).³⁵ Therefore, we recognise that the characters involved are not adult warriors, but youths on the verge of adulthood. In the following chapters, we shall call them ephebes and discuss the connection between this category and abductions. To sum up, both abductions and cattle-raiding are ephebic activities, as they both prepare young men for different aspects of adult life: marriage and war. The fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae is an ephebic skirmish and naturally follows the cattle raid, as it conveys the same meaning as a cattle raid, i.e. it is a form of preparation for war. On the other hand, abductions concern another theme: marriage, which is not directly related to initiatory-like skirmishes.³⁶

A connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and the fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae is commonly made, yet it appears in literature only in the third century BC when we find the two episodes causally connected in both Lycophron’s and Theocritus’ literary accounts of the story. The Leucippides were engaged to the Apharetidae, but the Dioscuri stole them from their betrothed. Therefore, the Apharetidae attacked the Dioscuri and were killed in the ensuing duel.

³³ In the *Iliad*, out of more than 150 wounds described, only 12 are caused by stones.

³⁴ Tyrtaeus 11W (on the topic, cf. van Wees 1994, 141-142).

³⁵ Death by stoning also has a ritual value and is meant to hide the pollution from sight and isolate it from the community (cf. the *φαρμακὸς* rituals, Oedipus’ wish to be stoned to death in Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus* 434-436, or Creon’s first sentence against Antigone in *Antigone* 36). Dogs, monsters and men who perpetrated particularly hideous and polluting crimes can be killed by stones. Cf. Steiner 1995.

³⁶ A quick overview of abduction stories should be enough to prove this point. Abductions immediately result in a wedding (e.g. Peleus and Thetis, Hades and Persephone, Boreas and Oreithyia) or, if a violent reaction is contemplated, it results in either a full-fledged war (e.g. the Trojan War after Helen’s abduction by Paris or the invasions of Attica by the Spartan army led by the Dioscuri after the abduction of Helen by Theseus, and by the Amazons army after Theseus’ abduction of Antiope) or, at most, a pursuit by the aggrieved party of the abduction – the father (e.g. Pelops and Hippodamia). In no other case do we find an ephebic “duel” for the possession of an abducted girl.

The Dioscuri had to abduct the Leucippides because the two girls were already promised to Idas and Lynceus and there was no legal way to get them.

Let us now consider our sources in more detail. Theocritus and Lycophron both flourished in the first half of the third century BC, but a relative chronology of their works does not seem possible to achieve; it is equally difficult to trace personal contacts between them, although both were probably active in Alexandria in the same period.³⁷ Reciprocal influences are, therefore, likely, but it is impossible to pinpoint their exact composition and direction. This discussion treats the two authors as contemporary and their works as parallel, without dwelling on the unsolvable question of who influenced whom. A slight priority will be granted to Theocritus, not from the chronological point of view, but because he offers a clearer and univocal version of the story, while Lycophron's version, as we shall see, is open to different interpretations, some closer to Theocritus, some to earlier sources.

Theocritus' *Idyll* 22 (T9) is a hymn to the Dioscuri; it follows quite closely the structure of traditional hymns, but the story presents a twist, an unexpected way of interpreting and re-telling the traditional story, in the form of an erudite game on a genre's conventions. For the first and last time ever, Castor is the only protagonist of the abduction of the two daughters of Leucippus and of the fight with the Apharetidae; it is also the only instance in which Castor wins (and survives) the duel. On the other hand, we have Lycophron; in a convoluted prophecy, Cassandra (i.e. the Alexandra of the title) foretells the future deeds of generations of heroes, starting from the origins of the Trojan War.³⁸ Among the warriors who will never set foot on Trojan soil, she mentions the Apharetidae and the Dioscuri, who will perish by each other's hand before the war begins. The reason for this lethal fight will be the abduction of their common cousins, the Leucippides (T10).³⁹

It should be immediately clear that we are dealing with unusual sources. Theocritus presents an admittedly, deliberately innovative version of the episode, different from the story told by any other source, as only Castor is involved in the fight

³⁷ For this discussion, I accept the dating of the author of the *Alexandra* to the early third century BC but acknowledge the scholarly debate on the date and identity of the author. An overview of the topic can be found in Sens 2010, 302-305.

³⁸ *Alexandra* 535-549 (T10).

³⁹ The two passages are described in parallel by Ciampa 2015.

with the Apharetidae, and not only does he survive it, but also emerges as the undisputed winner.⁴⁰ Lycophron's poetry, instead, is ambiguous by its very nature, and the scene considered is particularly poor in details; the only clear point is that the fight happened because the Dioscuri abducted the Leucippides and the Apharetidae tried to intervene in their defence, but the reasons behind their intervention remain obscure. It is possible that they were betrothed to the Leucippides, but also that they were simply protecting their uncle Leucippus' interests from an unfair loss, as an abduction without wedding gifts would have damaged him and his family prestige.

The appearance of the Apharetidae in the story of the Leucippides has been treated as a given without adequately considering the peculiarity of these sources, despite their peculiarity being noted under other premises. Scholars, in fact, have rarely dwelled on these matters, while the subsequent fight has always attracted scholarly attention.⁴¹ Gow was the first to comment on the difficulties presented by Theocritus' version and the first, and for a long time the only, scholar to point out that the engagement between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae made its literary appearance in Theocritus, although his reflections on the topic did not move any further than this statement.⁴² Sbardella recently opened the debate again by recognising the distinct identity of the cattle raid that ended in the famous duel and of the abduction of the Leucippides.⁴³ He supposes that the first episode (cattle raid and duel) made its appearance in literature with the *Cypria*, while the second (Leucippides and duel, or possibly only the abduction of the Leucippides, as his position is unclear) was transmitted by oral tradition, perhaps in connection to a cult. Only later were the two versions unified through a "contamination" process that started in iconographic sources (cf. the Apulian lekythos below) and was "sanctioned" by literature with Lycophron. Sbardella's contribution was vital in moving the discussion on our Hellenistic sources and their own sources forward but is not completely satisfactory. An iconographic schema (such as the mixed version of the abduction) cannot tell a

⁴⁰ Cf. Zanker 1989 on the innovations in *Id.* 22 and 18; the similar traits between the two compositions are also noted by Cameron 1995, 431-436. Also the first part of the *Idyll* (Polydeukes' boxing match with Amycus) shows an unexpected development, as other sources (in particular Apollonius' *Argonautica*) stated that Polydeukes killed Amycus while, in Theocritus, he spares his adversary (cf. Hutchinson 1988, 165).

⁴¹ Severyns 1928, Moulton 1973, Zanker 1989, Laursen 1992, Gigante Lanzara 1995, Sens 1997.

⁴² Gow 1942 and 1950. This idea reappears in Sens 1992.

⁴³ Sbardella 2003.

story that is otherwise unknown to its consumers. Following the path established by Sbardella but smoothing out the contradictions of his theory, I suggest that the mixing of the two originally separated versions began in the oral tradition, was adopted by iconographic sources, and finally appeared in literature in the early Hellenistic period – definitely not in the *Cypria*, as suggested by Sbardella in a contradictory reversal of his previous position.⁴⁴ Considering the picture offered by later sources, the *Cypria* might have presented the same version preserved by Apollodorus, with the abduction of the Leucippides as the first episode, followed by the wedding, the birth of children, the cattle raid and, finally, the fatal duel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae. However, as we shall see, we have no way of tracing this oral tradition, and the preserved iconographic sources appear only shortly before the literary ones, barely before the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

When we have few written sources for a mythological episode, such as the abduction of the Leucippides, we struggle to identify whether the first presentation of a mythological version known to us is merely a re-telling of a previously existing story or is created anew or from multiple pre-existing versions. Certainly, giving new prestige to local, almost forgotten, and perhaps fragmentary stories and mixing elements from minor versions to create something at the same time new and faithful to the tradition is a typically Hellenistic literary form.⁴⁵ That said, it is possible, even likely, that neither Theocritus nor Lycophron invented the detail that the abduction of the Leucippides was the cause of the fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae. No earlier traces of the connection between the two episodes of the Dioscuri's lives (abduction and duel) appear in literature, but its first appearance might be in visual

⁴⁴ Sbardella 2003, 138 and 147-148 suggests that the presence of this “contaminated” version in the *Cypria* cannot be excluded with certainty, but also that it only existed in oral traditions before Lycophron. Therefore, the position of Severyns 1928, 278-279, who supposed that the abduction and the fight were separated in the *Cypria*, seems still to be more probable. Cf. the discussion above. In particular, Sbardella accepts the hypothesis that the model for Pindar's *Nemean* 10 was in the *Cypria* but cannot explain convincingly why Pindar would have rejected the mixed version of the origin of the fight (the abduction of the Leucippides), preferring to it the “older” justification (the cattle raid), if the mixed version was already in the *Cypria* and he was faithfully following the version of the *Cypria* for the duel. Sbardella suggests (149) that this is due to the influence of the Argive cult of the Dioscuri and the Leucippides, but this position is quite weak. We shall come back to the Argive cult of the Dioscuri in a following chapter, but suffice to say that nothing in it makes us suppose a *ἱερὸς γάμος* or that the Leucippides shared their husbands' cult or divine status. More importantly, it is not clear how the abduction version would have been unbecoming for the Argive cult.

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. Hunter 1996; Fantuzzi and Hunter 2005; Payne 2007; Sens 2009.

sources; in the second half of the fourth century BC, two vase paintings from Apulia combine the two episodes in a single depiction.

The first example appears on a densely decorated lekythos (fig. 15). The painted body of the vase is divided into two levels; on the upper one, we find the Dioscuri scene. The Dioscuri stand on their chariots, one per side of the scene, both nude save for a chlamys billowing over their shoulders. The two girls in their arms try to escape and reach back with outstretched arms to another figure. The abduction scene is similar to other Southern Italian products; its relation to coeval and older depictions will be discussed in a following chapter.⁴⁶ In the same scene, we see a towering male figure who throws a large stone against another man, who takes a defensive stance. On the sides of this scene are a warrior kneeling on the ground and another lying dead.

The characters are not named, but it is easy to recognise Idas, who lifts his father's funerary stele to hurl it against his opponent, an episode we know from Pindar's account.⁴⁷ The item is recognisable as a Hellenistic grave stele by its shape, crowned with a pediment.⁴⁸ Above the stele, Zeus' bolt is about to strike Idas dead, another element shared with Pindar's *Nemean*.⁴⁹ The fallen warrior is probably Lynceus since Idas' throwing the stele usually follows his brother's demise. The identity of the two other characters is more controversial. With the help of Pindar's literary account, we might identify the figures as follows: Polydeukes faces Idas, after killing Lynceus (who lies dead by his side), while mortally wounded Castor struggles to stand slightly further. However, in this case, both the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae are all accounted for in the fighting scene, while the two charioteers who drive the Leucippides away remain unidentified. No identifying characteristics distinguish these figures: the charioteers, the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae are all nude, with only a chlamys over their shoulders or arms, a sword under their left armpits, and the same dark and curly hairstyle. From this example, it should be clear that mechanically applying a literary reading to an artistic depiction is not a sound methodology; in this

⁴⁶ Cf. section 3.4.4.

⁴⁷ Pindar, *Nemean* 10.66-68.

⁴⁸ Cf. descriptions of Hellenistic *stelai* in e.g. Rönne-Linders 1971; Hannestad 1997; Posamentir 2011. It stands on a podium, with a fallen vase on it, as it is not uncommon in funerary contexts and their depictions; in the Hellenistic period, hydriai and other vessels are common grave gifts (cf. Houby-Nielsen 1997, 243; Trinkl 2006, 161).

⁴⁹ *Nemean* 10.71.

case, literature provides one recognisable element (the throw of the gravestone) that facilitates our identification of the scene depicted, but the vase does not depict “Pindar’s story”.⁵⁰ Our reading of the depicted scene, instead, needs to be based on both internal evidence and the comparison with our wider knowledge of the episode in all its visual embodiments. Thus, we can suppose that either two different moments of the episode are depicted on the same vase – the abduction and the fight – and the Dioscuri appear in both,⁵¹ or the Dioscuri are the two fighters, while their charioteers drive the Leucippides away from the fight.⁵² Both readings are acceptable in light of parallel depictions, but the second possibility receives support from another Apulian vase painting.⁵³

This second depiction of the abduction of the Leucippides together with the fight against the Apharetidae occurs on a pelike (fig. 16) of the same period and provenance but uncertain attribution. In this case, most characters are named, making the identification of the scene clear. The focus of the action is on Idas on the lower level, who kneels on a podium (possibly an altar) and is about to throw his father’s stele (although, in this case, the identification of the object is not as clear as on the preceding lekythos). The kneeling warrior against whom Idas hurls the stone is not Polydeukes, but a certain Kerkynos –otherwise unknown to us, perhaps a companion of the Dioscuri. On the right of the scene, the charioteer Eurytos carries off Phoibe on Castor’s chariot, while on the left Polydeukes lifts Hilaeira in his arms, taking her to his chariot, where his own charioteer Stomios waits. A nameless warrior lies dead on the ground. On the upper level, Lynceus attacks Castor, who, mortally wounded, falls back against an unnamed, bearded male, probably Zeus, who aids wounded Castor. The scene is complete, with the Dioscuri, the Apharetidae, the Leucippides and even Zeus identifiable. However, there are two unexpected elements: the otherwise unknown Kerkynos and the dead warrior. We would expect the fallen warrior to be either Castor or Lynceus since both are dead or dying by the time Idas hurls his father’s

⁵⁰ This is suggested by Sbardella 2003, 138-139 but is not methodologically sound.

⁵¹ In this case, we could consider it a “continuous” narrative (Snodgrass 2006, 385), in which “the background changes as the figures repeat” (Small 1999, 570). Cf. also Shapiro 2002, 8-9.

⁵² Mayo and Hama 1982, 131 accept this second reading. In this case, we would speak of synoptic narrative (sequence of episodes in the same story, without repetition of characters), particularly common in Apulian vase painting. Cf. Snodgrass 2006, 384; Connelly 1993, 107-108.

⁵³ Cf. section 3.4.4.

gravestone in written sources, but both are also recognisable on the upper level. The two registers might be read together and continuously so that we understand the scene as Castor falling into the arms of Zeus, who will take care of him, and Lynceus “moving on” to the other register, where he is killed by Polydeukes and lies dead on the ground. However, Polydeukes does not take part in the fight properly since he is depicted as still abducting a girl. Otherwise, we must assume that dead Lynceus “disappears” from the scene, as he is not relevant anymore, while the fallen warrior is Castor, who still has a part to play at the end of the story. Nevertheless, the presence of Kerkynos should make us suspicious about the identity of the other warrior; perhaps, we could identify both of them as the Dioscuri’s unknown attendants, who temporarily fend off Idas, although it would not be clear why one was named and not the other.

Naturally, the fact that the abduction of the Leucippides and the fight with the Apharetidae appear in the same scene does not tell us why they do. The two episodes are intertwined in both paintings, meaning that there is not a physical boundary between one and the other; however, it is also clear that the two episodes cannot happen exactly at the same time (despite how they are depicted), and the probable doubling of some characters seems to suggest that the two episodes could have been simply placed side by side without implying a causal connection, but a more generic one (e.g. same characters, same topic or same saga).⁵⁴ This process is not uncommon in vase paintings, in which connected episodes can be juxtaposed in a way that defies time.⁵⁵ Following this point, it is interesting to notice the well-known influence of Attic theatre on Apulian vase paintings. For instance, the presence of an upper register with sitting onlookers (usually gods) has been recognised as a typically theatrical element of Apulian vase paintings.⁵⁶ In our two examples, this register is present in fig. 15, but not in fig. 16. Juxtaposing episodes from the same story, as discussed above, was a logical way to depict the most noteworthy moments of a play. In our case, the innovative connection between the two episodes might have even been introduced in an Athenian tragedy, perhaps in the rich post-Classical production that is almost

⁵⁴ This is categorically excluded by Sbardella 2003, 139, but no justification is provided.

⁵⁵ Cf. Small 1999, 562 and 568 and, in particular, the vases depicting Theseus’ early adventures as related but not subsequential events. For “independent yet related events side by side in a single picture field”, Connelly 1993, 119 uses the term “episodic narrative”.

⁵⁶ E.g. Giuliani 2018, 126.

completely lost to us; Giuliani, for instance, suggests that Apulian painters were particularly interested in Attic tragedy as a fertile ground for the development of mythological variants that would satisfy customers with a desire for novelty.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, the relevance of this hypothesis to our cases is impossible to prove and will not be pursued further.

Coming back to our main point, the two separate episodes could have been put together because they were the two most relevant episodes concerning the Dioscuri (at least in that specific geographical context), or because they shared the same “coming-of-age” overtone, as discussed above.⁵⁸ Evidently, iconographic sources must have been clear to their consumers but, without the help of literary descriptions, they are not univocally clear to us. However, the story implied by the vase might have been suggested and explained by an unknown Athenian play that introduced the connection as nothing more than a plot-driven innovative device. Anyhow, it would not be correct to assume that the story told by the later literary sources that we know must be the same in earlier iconographic sources. We should also notice that both our vases come from the same geographical region (Apulia) and the same period (third quarter of the fourth century BC). Whether such a variant had really made the jump from oral tradition to iconography or was a local innovation in vase paintings making its appearance at this time and in this area, the fact that such a tradition existed in this context does not imply that it existed elsewhere, nor that it followed a linear evolution from this tradition to Lycophron and Theocritus.

To sum up, the abduction of the Leucippides and the fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae are attested as separate episodes from an early date. Both deal with the theme of “initiation into adulthood” but approach it from different points of view; the former tells of the pursuit of a worthy wife, while the latter is connected to cattle-raiding and ephebic skirmishes as a preparation for war. Only in the fourth

⁵⁷ Giuliani 2018, 139-140. On Athenian theatre and Apulian paintings, cf. the recent studies from Villing 2014, Giuliani 2018.

⁵⁸ The attribution of fig. 16 is uncertain, so no direct parallel by the same painter is identifiable. In the production of the Underworld Painter (fig. 15), however, there are several cases in which different episodes from the same saga are combined or juxtaposed on the same vase. For instance, *Münich Antikensammlungen* 3296 is richly decorated with all the main scenes of Medea’s Corinthian adventures. Somehow similarly, cf. also Melbourne, Geddes collection A5:4, a calyx krater decorated with the dragging of Dirke and the attack on Lykos by Amphion and Zethos. While the connection between the episodes is not necessarily causal, however, they are consequential.

century BC do we find two Apulian vases in which the abduction of the Leucippides seems to happen at the same time as the duel with the Apharetidae. They might mark the appearance of a variant of the story in which the two episodes are intertwined, but many variables are involved, and we should be careful not to read what we want or expect to in these sources. In particular, it is important to consider the common topic of the two episodes, i.e. the maturation of the heroes, which might have created a connection in oral tradition, but also led a painter to a connection between them that did not exist in any tradition. Finally, the connection between abduction and fight is made explicit only by Theocritus and Lycophron in the first half of the third century BC. Both sources, however, take an original approach to traditional myths that makes them likely candidates for the introduction of innovation in the story. This connection is not attested in extant literature before Theocritus and Lycophron, and it is suggested as a possible (but not the only) interpretation in art. It seems an acceptable conclusion that this version was a later innovation, attested from the fourth century BC at the earliest, possibly engendered by oral traditions and developed outside the Athenian sphere of influence.

1.2.1. The engagement

So far, we have discussed the appearance of a “mixed” version of the Leucippides’ myth, in which their abduction is followed by the deadly duel between their abductors (the Dioscuri) and their cousins (the Apharetidae), a duel that was known from other sources to follow a joint cattle raid. However, the reason for this connection has not been discussed yet. When examining the two Apulian vases, we noted that the two episodes, while intertwined in the same scene, maintain traces of their separate identities. Therefore, we suggested the possibility of a thematic, not narrative, connection between them, both dealing with the “initiator” episodes of the life of youthful heroes such as the Dioscuri; because of this, the two episodes could have been merged in a singular depiction, without implying the existence of a singular, continuous narration.

On the other hand, it is also possible that the presence in the same depictions of the abduction and the fight should be read as a sign that the merging between the two

episodes in the oral and visual tradition had already happened. What remains unclear, in this case, is how the two episodes were connected. Why would the Apharetidae oppose the abduction of the Leucippides so staunchly to the point of fighting their cousins to the death?

Only the literary sources have an explanation. According to Theocritus, the Apharetidae and the Leucippides were engaged, having received Leucippus' blessing to the union. In Lycophron, we find no mention of a previous engagement to the Apharetidae, which may support the hypothesis of a Theocritean invention. Even though abduction and duel are connected in both sources, it is evident that the story is not the same. We cannot say with certainty which version (or if any at all) already existed but, given the absence of explicit mentions of the engagement in previous, coeval and later sources, it seems more likely that Theocritus would be the innovator with his introduction of the engagement. On the other hand, Lycophron does not explain the reason for the Apharetidae's interest in the abduction of their cousins.

A *scholion* to Lycophron by Tzetzes, however, suggests a unique reading of the connection between the two episodes.⁵⁹ According to Tzetzes, the Dioscuri stole some cattle from the Apharetidae to pay for the Leucippides' dowry. This reading would also explain how the fight happened because of the Leucippides and how Idas was "angered because of some matter of cattle", as Pindar relates. Unfortunately, as discussed in the previous section, Tzetzes is not always a trustworthy source. Lycophron's lines are ambiguous enough to allow for many readings, and Tzetzes could have drawn his conclusions by combining elements he knew from other sources. If Tzetzes' version is what Lycophron had in mind, Tzetzes must have recognised it from another source, but he does not name it, and we cannot identify it because it is not preserved. Perhaps, he simply copied an older *scholion* that, in turn, could derive from a misunderstanding of a confused scholiast as much as from an ancient, authoritative tradition that originated in the library of Alexandria. The trustworthiness of his statement is impossible to prove, as it lacks external validation. The Apharetidae could have tried to save the two girls – their cousins – from an abduction, meaning a wedding gained through violence and bribery and not through the customary gifts. In

⁵⁹ Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 546-549 (T29).

Tzetzes' case, they would have also been interested in retrieving their cattle.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, modern scholars are more prone to regard Tzetzes' reading as an autoschediasm.

More probably, he (or his source) is either influenced or confused by Theocritus' parallel version. Lynceus, in fact, accuses the Dioscuri of bribing Leucippus "with cattle and mules and other goods" to convince him to break the oath he had sworn to the Apharetidae, promising his daughters in marriage to them. As suggested by Tzetzes, the Dioscuri did "bribe" Leucippus with cattle, but never does Lynceus state or even imply that the cattle were his and his brother's. By contrast with later practices, where a father would provide a dowry for his daughter, a potential son-in-law of the heroic world was expected to buy his future father-in-law's approval through wedding gifts (ἔδνα).⁶¹ However, the engagement between the Apharetidae and the Leucippides was based only on a promise, while the Dioscuri brought generous gifts. Perhaps modern scholars (and Tzetzes before them) were deceived by Lynceus' persuasive speech, and what he calls a "bribe" was not a bribe at all, but legitimate ἔδνα.⁶² It is not immediately relevant to our discussion, and much has been said on the topic already, so we shall not dwell on it too much, but Castor and Lynceus can be seen as the opposing faces of the mythological hero: the former a silent and violent fighter of the archaic epics, the latter an eloquent and peaceful hero of a more refined age.⁶³

⁶⁰ This double interpretation made its first appearance in Ciaceri 1901 and recurred in modern scholarship since then. Fusillo, Hurst and Paduano 1991 consider it forced. The repetition is typical of Lycophron's style and the cattle theme – according to them – should already be present in the idea of a wedding without gifts. Gigante Lanzara 2000 also disagrees with Ciaceri. Both modern commentaries maintain that the version narrated in the *scholion* is an invention of the scholiast. The latest scholar to follow Ciaceri is Sbardella 2003.

⁶¹ The practice is well attested in literature; cf. for instance Helen's suitors in Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*. Providing a daughter with a dowry is a well-attested practice in the Classical period (in particular, the procedure is known in Athens, where it is called προίξ), but it does not properly belong to the heroic world, where it should not be confused with the wider practice of gifts exchanging that could surround a wedding (*pace* Snodgrass 1974). The exchange of wedding gifts is, instead, an Archaic aristocratic practice, reflected in the Homeric poems and, possibly, still existing in some form down to the sixth century BC. On the topic, cf. Lacey 1966; Goody and Tambiah 1973; Vernant 1973, 52-63; Vernant 1974 (1990), 55-77; Morris 1986, 105-115.

⁶² Already Wilamowitz 1906, 190 questioned the trustworthiness of Lynceus' accuses. Cf. Hunter 1996, 67-68.

⁶³ The Dioscuri are "presented as men of Iliadic might and aggressiveness" (Sens 1996, 188); Sens 1996, 191-192 sees a parallel between Theocritus' Castor and Homer's Achilles. On the other hand, Lynceus is "a man of post-Homeric values and sensibility trapped in an 'Iliadic' frame" (Sens 1996, 200). From this point of view, he finds his parallel in the civilised Polydeukes of the first half of the hymn, the sportsmanlike hero of the Hellenistic middle-class. Nevertheless, Polydeukes also adheres to the traditional code of heroic values, as he punishes Amicus' crime against the rules of hospitality (Cameron

Therefore, the two heroes are separated by a structural impossibility of understanding each other; Castor followed the code of practice of his epic world, a code that is foreign to “modern” Lynceus.⁶⁴ Having the approval of the Leucippides’ father, the Dioscuri did not need to abduct the girls at all; the “abduction” melts into a ritualised, conventional abduction that is closer to a wedding. As we shall see in the following chapters, a wedding by ritualised abduction was typical of Sparta (of which the Dioscuri were national heroes and divine protectors), and wedding processions getting superimposed to the abduction of the Leucippides were typical of Athenian vase paintings. Theocritus, being a learned poet, certainly could not ignore these connections.

Moving back to our main point, we have noticed that, at a certain point, the cattle raid and the duel were separated, and the duel was combined with the abduction of the Leucippides at least in a circumscribed number of sources. Possibly, Tzetzes was only trying to rationalise this innovation, but he picked up on the abnormality of Lycophron’s version, as he recognised that the duel belonged primarily to the cattle raid. From this point of view, it is possible to suggest that Tzetzes’ reading and Theocritus’ engagement story are two parallel answers to the same matter that Lycophron, instead, avoids. Considering all the sources and theories discussed so far, a likely interpretation of the development of the story is as follows: in fourth-century contexts in which the wedding of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri and the birth of their children were not significant parts of the myth and cult of the Dioscuri (e.g. in Magna Graecia), the abduction of the Leucippides and the joint cattle raid with the following fight were drawn closer. Without the element of the children (which required the survival of the Dioscuri after the abduction), but with the similar meaning of “ephebic” adventures shared by both, the two stories were told in parallel and depicted together, although a logical, narrative connection between the two did not exist yet. The cattle raid – a remnant of the past – gradually lost importance, possibly under the influence of another story, which we shall discuss in a moment, and the abduction

1995, 432). Griffiths 1976, 353-360 calls Lynceus one of Theocritus’ innocent, naïve and optimistic new heroes. On the representation of the heroes in this *Idyll*, cf. Moulton 1973, Griffiths 1976, Laursen 1992, Sens 1992, Hunter 1996, Sens 1996.

⁶⁴ Simply put, “Lynceus is a man out of his element” (Sens 1996, 188).

gained an appendix, the fight, that does not belong to the usual structure of abduction stories.

Palumbo Stracca was the first scholar to point out the possible connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and a *scholion* to Clement of Alexandria that suggests the existence of a story in which the Dioscuri were rivals in love of the Hippocoontids.⁶⁵ We know nothing of the work that the scholiast mentions, and we cannot ascertain his trustworthiness. Nonetheless, if we accept the existence of such a version, one might imagine how our two episodes, originally independent from each other, could have merged. If we originally had three stories – an abduction of the Leucippides, a rivalry (not necessarily a proper fight) between the Dioscuri and the Hippocoontids for some girls, and another fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae because of the cattle raid – it would be reasonable to think that, at a certain point, the stories could have been confused or simplified. The Hippocoontids episode was probably a local, minor one, perhaps connected to Sparta, and the Hippocoontids themselves were already protagonists of another episode, presumably taking place a generation before the Dioscuri, in which Herakles killed them all, or at least most of them.⁶⁶ The Apharetidae instead had every reason to be involved in the Leucippides' story, being the cousins of both abductors and abducted girls.

The merging of these episodes left an “artificial seam” between its fundamental components, which were not clearly connected by any internal logic; to be sure, the interest of the Apharetidae in saving their cousins could have been implied, and this is the impression given to the reader by Lycophron's silence on the topic. After all, the level of uncertainty left by the absence of any explanation fit well into the general tone of mystery and ambiguity of the *Alexandra*. Although a functional assumption, this solution could hardly seem satisfying to a poet such as Theocritus, instead, who intended to tell this new story in detail, possibly for the first time. It is only in this context that the introduction of a previous engagement makes sense, as it would provide a direct and reasonable explanation for the Apharetidae's involvement. Tzetzes' version is not compatible with Theocritus' but gives an equally reasonable explanation for the intervention of the Apharetidae.

⁶⁵ *Protrepticus*, 2.36.2 (T25). Cf. Palumbo Stracca 2000 on the topic.

⁶⁶ Apollodorus 2.7.3; Pausanias 3.15.4.

As we have noted, the sequence of events that sees the abduction of the Leucippides immediately followed by the fight with the Apharetidae and the death and deification of the Dioscuri does not sit well with the complete story of the Dioscuri, who should marry the Leucippides and have children from this union. At the same time, this story, with the addition of the engagement between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae, does not work with the complete story of the Apharetidae either. In fact, it goes against an old and well-attested tradition, mentioned at the beginning of this section, which sees Idas married to Marpessa. The two versions do not seem compatible at all. Idas never survives the fight with the Dioscuri, so the Marpessa episode cannot come later; they cannot happen at the same time since Idas could not get engaged to a Leucippid while married to Marpessa. The only possibility would be to think of the wedding to Marpessa as an episode of his youth, while the engagement with the Leucippid would be an adult wedding. However, the two episodes (Marpessa's abduction and the abduction of the Leucippides) correspond to each other, as both tell the same story of "ephebic" abduction and consequent wedding. Like the Dioscuri, the Apharetidae are youthful heroes, who are not meant to reach full adulthood, so we cannot expect for either of them a second, "adult" wedding. To further disprove the possibility of Idas surviving Marpessa and getting engaged to his cousin at a later time, Pausanias attests the existence of a (possibly Messenian) tradition, according to which Marpessa was still alive when Idas was killed and subsequently killed herself in retaliation.⁶⁷ This tradition is compatible with the death of Idas by Polydeukes' hand in a fight that followed a cattle raid or, at most, as an intervention against the unjust abduction of the Apharetidae's cousins, but it is incompatible with the engagement with the Leucippides. Therefore, we shall exclude the possibility that the engagement belonged to a widespread version of the myth. Instead, it should be considered an innovation by Theocritus that exists only within the limits of the poetic composition itself.⁶⁸ In Theocritus' *Idyll*, in fact, the mention of a former engagement seems to be on the same level as the bribery of Leucippus and Lynceus' assertion that he often pronounced similar words of reproach about his

⁶⁷ Pausanias 4.2.7.

⁶⁸ This case would not represent a *unicum* in Theocritus' corpus. E.g. the treatment of Daphnis' myth and, in particular, of his death in *Idyll* 1 (cf. Arnott 1996, 62-63).

cousins' desire for the two girls (neither detail is known to any other source). They give us some snippets of a larger picture, in which Theocritus seems to imply a story behind the episode. He tells his story as if it were familiar in its entirety to his audience but, for the Hellenistic poet, the authority of the story could be just "an internally generated authority, independent of the existence of external witnesses", as Hunter suggests.⁶⁹

To be sure, the previous engagement was not strictly necessary in Theocritus' story, but it made the connection between the two episodes smoother, and it fits well with the general message of this half of the *Idyll* itself. The Dioscuri are powerful gods, sons of a powerful god, so trying to hinder their desires or even to understand their plans rationally is futile.⁷⁰ The Apharetidae try to defend the all-human authority of their prior engagement and are punished for it with their deaths. Lynceus rationalises his position, but he does not understand that he defies a god.⁷¹ The appearance of Leucippus' promise to the Apharetidae in this context greatly contributes to setting the tone of the episode. Mortals' claims – no matter how legitimate – have no weight compared to a god's desires.

Lycophron's interests are completely different. The focus shifts away from the abduction, to the "fratricidal" fight. Facing each other, we find two pairs of brothers, each other's cousins, specular to each other in their traits and deeds. The Dioscuri and the Apharetidae, in fact, take part together in the Calydonian Boar Hunt and the expedition of the Argonauts, and a tradition often mentioned in this chapter sees them taking part also in joint cattle raids in neighbouring regions. According to a tradition,

⁶⁹ Hunter 1996, 64-65. A similar process has been studied by Scodel 1997, 1999, 33-57 and 2002 in Homer; the epic poet alludes to characters and events as if they were familiar to his audience, in such a way that they cannot differentiate between what they could have known and what they could not have known, being an innovation. Naturally, it is more difficult also for us to distinguish these two categories in Homer's case, as we have no access to the complete mythological knowledge of his age. This process is reinforced when it is not the narrator to voice these elements, but a character. Thus, the narrative element that was not part of the tradition gets firmly imbedded within the tradition, as something already familiar to the heroes of a remote past (Scodel 1997, 216-217). Similarly, the details of Theocritus' story that do not find any parallel are spoken by Lynceus and not by the narrating voice.

⁷⁰ Theocritus, *Idyll* 22.112-113. The divine powers of the Dioscuri are enumerated in the first lines of the hymn (1-22); despite never being openly stated, their divine status is implied throughout the hymn, and a hymn could only be dedicated to a god. A similar situation can be seen in the Homeric *Hymns to the Dioscuri* (17 and 33). Cf. also Hunter 1996, 69; Sens 1992 and 1997, 17-19.

⁷¹ Hunter 1996, 67-70; Sens 1996; Bulloch 2010, 176-177. In particular, Lynceus often underlines the family relationship between himself and the Dioscuri, who should be cousins by their fathers' side, but fails to notice his rivals' real paternity.

Idas was the son of Poseidon and Lynceus was the son of mortal Aphareus,⁷² similar to Polydeukes, who was the son of Zeus, and Castor, son of Tyndareus. We know that the Dioscuri were twins, while the sources are not as clear on the Apharetidae, although it seems likely, given the parallelism between the two pairs of brothers.⁷³ Those episodes are not necessarily implied by Lycophron, yet they create a clear background in which the four cousins are close, and their fight becomes a fratricidal family business.⁷⁴ The abduction of the Leucippides is nothing more than a pretext for a dramatic fight that was meant to happen to destroy the most powerful heroes of Greece, who would have upset the balance of power during the Trojan War.

To summarise what we have discussed so far, I suggest that the abduction of the Leucippides and the joint cattle raid followed by a deadly fight were originally distinct episodes dealing with similar themes, namely initiation of the young heroes into adulthood. Possibly because of the common theme, of ensuing confusion with other similar episodes of the Dioscuri's life or, more generally, following the narrative forms available to painters, the two stories were first placed side-by-side in vase paintings (i.e., in the Apulian vases); at this point, there are no traces of an engagement with the Apharetidae, which appears only in Theocritus. Sens supposes that this version was not invented by Theocritus and might have been of great antiquity; as we have seen, there are only faint traces of a previous connection, but the evidence is circumstantial, and he does not bring forward any definitive proof for this hypothesis.⁷⁵

The only difficulty in our scheme comes from the Heroon of Trysa in Lycia (fig. 27), modern Gölbaschi, Turkey, which dates to about 380-370 BC, a century before Theocritus.⁷⁶ The scene depicted on the north frieze, organised on two levels of fifty

⁷² Apollodorus 3.10.3 (T11).

⁷³ In Theocritus, Lynceus and Castor will fight each other since they are the younger brothers, but the younger in two pairs of twins, or the parallel would not be as poignant.

⁷⁴ On the same topic, we shall notice that the word ἀνέψιοι would have sufficed to express a neutral relation between the two pairs of brothers, because it already means “cousins” on its own. However, we read αὐτανέψιοι in our text, with an extra prefix αὐτ-. The four are not simply “cousins” but “their very own cousins”, implying a stronger sense of belonging to the same family group. The prefix αὐτ- is used to express a sense of familiarity and affection, or when the speaker wants to emphasise the strength of the blood relations inside of a family. Two examples: in *Iliad* 3.238, Helen calls the Dioscuri αὐτοκασιγνήτω, and immediately after reinforces the idea with τῷ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ. They are not simply her “brothers”, but her very own brothers, born from her same own mother. Secondly, we find a pervasive use of the prefix αὐτ- throughout Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* and Sophocles' *Antigone*, in which one of the main themes is family and the incestuous nature of Antigone's family.

⁷⁵ Sens 1992 and 1997, 168-169.

⁷⁶ Eichler 1950, Taf. 24-29; Oberleitner 1994, 44-48; Landskron 2015, 162-171.

characters each, has been recognised as the abduction of the Leucippides. The two levels depict two parallel scenes: a youth leads a girl away on a chariot, while many armed men seem to oppose them. Among their ranks, two horsemen stand out.⁷⁷ On one side of the scene, it is possible to recognise a banquet taking place in front of a temple; another building, probably a house, stands in the composition. Under the influence of the Hellenistic sources mentioned above, modern scholars pictured the scene as the abduction of the Leucippides from their wedding. The Dioscuri, abducting the brides, interrupt the feast; the family and their army try to hinder the abductors' escape. This interpretation is widely accepted, and it mechanically rises from the assumption that such is the story and, therefore, this is what must be depicted. For instance, Oberleitner and Landskron – who produced the most recent studies on Trysa – both call the Leucippides “brides” without explaining how or why they can be identified as such, and they never mention the grooms, whom they cannot recognise in the scene at all.⁷⁸

We shall have many occasions to discuss this point in the following chapters, but a double abduction is always the abduction of the Leucippides. In this case, the two parallel abductions happen in parallel on two different levels, but this does not discredit the identification of the scene; as we shall see, the two abductions can be depicted at different stages and, occasionally, on different levels also in vase paintings.⁷⁹ Therefore, the identification of the scene as the abduction of the Leucippides seems incontrovertible. However, the dynamics of the scene might not be as straightforward as assumed by modern scholars so far. As demonstrated in this chapter, the fact that the abduction of the Leucippides happened *during* their wedding to the Apharetidae is a later construction, if not a modern misunderstanding, as no Greek source attests it with any certainty.

Unfortunately, nothing much is known about the population of Trysa or the committees of the heroon, except that the latter belonged to the local élite and built the

⁷⁷ It is possible that the two horsemen could be read as the Apharetidae, but none of the previous studies has advanced this hypothesis; the Apharetidae are never mentioned at all in the scholarship on the Heroon. Cf. in particular Landskron 2015, 165.

⁷⁸ Cf. Oberleitner 1994 and Landskron 2015. E.g. also Cohen 2010, 222-223, who takes for granted that “the context of this abduction was the Leucippides’ own wedding”, despite this version not being attested at all in Greek sources.

⁷⁹ Also in this case, it is possible to recognise two slightly different moments in the two abductions. Cf. Landskron 2015, 164.

heroon as a monumental funerary complex. The decoration of the building reflects a variety of influences, from Near Eastern art to Athenian models; nevertheless, many of the scenes depicted are identifiable as episodes from Greek myth. The limited information available on the local culture prevents us from pinpointing the exact version of the story of the Leucippides that could have been known in Trysa in the first half of the fourth century BC. It seems unlikely that a completely independent version could have developed there at this time, considering the complete absence of sources dealing with the abduction of the Leucippides in the eastern Greek world, and the limited number of sources dealing with the Dioscuri in general, before the Hellenistic period. It seems more probable that the local élites of Lycia, eager to appear Hellenised to their Greek and local counterparts, imported both the episodes and the way of depicting them from affirmed models of continental Greece.⁸⁰

If this scene depicts the abduction of the Leucippides from their wedding, as supposed by modern scholars, we would find in it the only attestation of this story in the whole Greek world. Compared to the other depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides (which we shall analyse in detail in the following chapters), the models of the abduction by chariot are clear and can be found on the Siphnian Treasury, on Athenian pottery, and in parallel abductions such as Persephone's.⁸¹ However, none of those sources attests a wedding; instead, most of them represent an abduction from a sanctuary, from the midst of dancing companions. In the case of Trysa, we do find a temple. In front of it, a banquet is being prepared, out in the open, and women and armed men appear in the crowded scene. This does not look like a typical scene from a wedding; the most common topics are, in fact, the procession, the preparation of the bride and, finally, the offering of wedding gifts. A banquet in the house of the family of the bride did take place during weddings, but it is an extremely rare, if not completely unknown, subject in artistic depictions, also because of its structural similarities to generic symposium scenes. Such wedding banquets did not take place

⁸⁰ The continental (mostly Athenian) models of the scenes are often reiterated in the analysis of Landskron 2015.

⁸¹ Landskron 2015, 163 lists many of these parallel scenes, but does not observe that none of them depicts an abduction from a wedding, and only one contemplates the involvement of the Apharetidae (the Apulian lekythos discussed above). The other examples will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

in the open air and only occasionally did weddings happen in sanctuaries.⁸² Armed men also seem to be out of context in a wedding.

On the other hand, it is possible that the banquet and the temple do not belong to the same moment as the abduction. It is a common device in both paintings and reliefs to depict different moments of the same story in a single scene. This eventuality disproves the identification of the scene as an abduction from a wedding, too. In this case, in fact, the abduction could be separated from all the other elements of the scene; only the abduction of the Leucippides in its barest form would remain, without any background or descriptive elements except for the presence of chariots. In this case, though, the identification of the banquet scene, especially if it should be read as part of another myth concerning the Dioscuri, remains open.

Most traits of our scene, however, remind us of a festival in a sanctuary. It has been noted that the banquet attendants are specifically preparing meat;⁸³ this might be read, therefore, as the banquet following a sacrifice. Although the abduction of the Leucippides usually interrupts a girls' ritual in a sanctuary, the possibility of abductions during larger festivals, even in urban contexts, should not be excluded. As we shall see, the relief on the Siphnian Treasury, with the altar and the armed men pursuing the abductor(s), could suggest a similar background.⁸⁴ Festivals, similarly to liminal sanctuaries, were among the few locations in most Greek cities in which an unmarried girl could be found in the open. Religious festival and, more generally, religious events offered an important occasion for girls of marriageable age to be exposed to the male gaze, i.e. to be seen, admired and chosen by potential suitors.⁸⁵ This is also true for myth and a common *trope* in literature.⁸⁶ For instance, it is a

⁸² The structure of a Greek wedding and the way in which it was depicted on pottery are discussed in section 4.4.1. For sanctuary weddings, cf. e.g. *IG* XII 4.330.1-2.

⁸³ Ram and beef. Cf. Landskron 2015, 168-170.

⁸⁴ Cf. section 3.3.1.

⁸⁵ Cf. Pomeroy 2002, 106-109; Goff 2004, 85-89; Connelly 2007, 20, 24-25, 34; Provenza 2010-2011, 99. The same role was played by dances in sanctuaries, as will be discussed in the following chapters. Cf. Connelly 2007, 123. Herodotus 6.138 narrates that the Pelasgians captured many Athenian women while they were celebrating a festival in honour of Artemis at Brauron; similarly, Spartan girls were abducted from the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis by the Messenians (Pausanias 4.4.2). Cf. Cole 2004, 202-203; Goff 2004, 109-110. In Lysias 1, the seducer Eratosthenes first saw Euphiletos' wife during a funeral; Diodorus Siculus 9.37.1 narrates that Peisistratus' daughters were rushed up on and kissed by a suitor while serving as *kanephoros* during a procession. On a similarly historical note, the practice of abduction marriage is known throughout the ancient world and was strictly sanctioned by Late Antique legislation (cf. Evans-Grubbs 1989).

⁸⁶ Cf. Goff 2004, 115, 148-149.

recurring feature of Menander's dramas; the story of the *Epitrepontes* is set into motion by a rape that happened during a women's festival, in the *Samian Woman* a girl is raped during the Adonia, and in *Kitharistes* a man falls in love with a girl he sees during a procession for Artemis. The ploy is also adopted by novels, as the heroes of both Xenophon's *Ephesiaca* and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* first see their beloved during a festival.⁸⁷ Even though they are not as common a location for mythological abductions as sanctuaries, festivals did offer a similarly apt background for an abduction; with this statement, though, we make a mostly artificial separation between the two instances. Festivals did also happen in sanctuaries, and most abductions from sanctuaries did happen during a festival. The only differences between the two settings would be the location – festivals also took place in the city and in urban or suburban sanctuaries, not only in liminal sanctuaries – and the male presence – rare in liminal sanctuaries but unavoidable in most urban settings. To further support this possible connection, we shall discuss in the following chapter the relationship between the Leucippides and the Spartan festival of the Hyacinthia. This festival, dedicated to Apollo, took place in Amyklai and was one of the largest and most important events for the whole Spartan community. The presence of adult women and younger girls is well attested, and their involvement in choruses is likely. In Sparta, the Leucippides were probably connected to pre-nuptial choruses, rites and competitive races reserved for girls, and a tunic for Apollo of Amyklai was woven inside their temple, to put forward only a couple of elements of the connection.⁸⁸ If the Leucippides were famous for their abduction, and somehow connected to an important festival, we cannot exclude that depicting their abduction as happening during a festival would have seemed extremely reasonable and perfectly acceptable.

The last element of the scene is a house, inside of which the family of the Leucippides have been recognised: their parents and, possibly, their younger sister. These characters, far from the action, hear the news of the girls' abduction and react

⁸⁷ Abductions are not necessary in Greek novels, as the hero's love is always required, and the protagonists usually elope (or fake an abduction) together and consensually. It is not appropriate to abduct a girl that one intends to marry, but only a courtesan, as Chaireas states in Menander's *Dyskolos*. Only villains and pirates abduct respectable girls (e.g. Kallisthenes in Achilles Tatius' *Leukippe and Klitophon*). This situation will only change with the Byzantine novel; in Theodoros Prodromos' *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, the hero becomes abductor while, in Niketas Eugenianos' *Drosilla and Charikles*, the hero considers both abduction and rape, but does not act on either. Cf. Burton 2000.

⁸⁸ Cf. sections 2.3-2.6.

with varying degrees of panic and desperation. As we shall discuss in the chapter on Athenian depictions, the presence of Leucippus, who witnesses the abduction, powerless (or as an accomplice?), or is informed about it from afar, is typical of Athenian models; his composed reaction suggests some measure of acceptance. The father's passive acceptance, or even approval, of the abduction is one of many elements to signal a superimposition of abduction and wedding; however, this means that the abduction by the Dioscuri should be read as a symbolic wedding, not that the abduction interrupts another wedding. If considered against these parallel scenes, the domestic settings and the reaction of the family do not need to suggest a wedding in course but simply reflect the convention of depicting the father being informed of his daughters' abduction.

Finally, the structure of the scene does not seem compatible with any literary version of the episode known. As discussed so far, any direct connection between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae is functional to the introduction of the duel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae; however, the traditional duel is not present in our scene, nor is it even hinted. None of the expected elements appears. The presence of the Apharetidae in our scene is uncertain, too; if they are the two horsemen, their intervention might be accounted for as general opposition to the abduction of their cousins. They do not need to be the grooms, and nothing in their appearance or gestures suggests that the episode is heading towards the famous duel. In particular, there is a whole army opposing the abduction, not the Apharetidae alone, a fact that speaks against the theory that the duel is about to happen. If we accept the hypothesis that the models of the Heroon's decorations are to be sought in mainland Greece, in particular in Athens, we must also recognise that this scene has no direct parallel that could explain its structure, as far as we are aware. The abduction from a wedding is not otherwise attested. Collective resistance to the abduction of the Leucippides is not attested either, and the duel simply cannot happen under these circumstances, since the dynamics of the duel require completely different settings.

To conclude, many misconceptions have flourished in modern scholarship around the abduction of the Leucippides and its context. The episode, originally independent, came to be connected to another episode of the life of the Dioscuri, their deadly fight with the Apharetidae. However, the fusion between the two stories seems

to have been only partial, and they did not merge perfectly in a single story with logical continuity. It is in this context that Theocritus composed his *Idyll* and suggested for the first time that the connection could be found in a previous engagement between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae. This explanation, however, remained a *unicum* in Greek sources. In fact, it does not appear either in contemporary (Lycophron) or later authors (Apollodorus); in particular, Apollodorus' silence is meaningful, as the mythographer usually reports all the alternative versions of the same story he knows. In any case, this version of the story is not compatible with the life of the Dioscuri, nor with Marpessa's wedding with Idas and, therefore, cannot belong to a widespread tradition. No Greek source but Theocritus supports the idea of a previous engagement between the Leucippides and the Apharetidae, and the idea that the Leucippides must have been abducted during their wedding is not reflected in any Greek source, either literary or visual. Even the north frieze of the Heroon of Trysa, which is usually interpreted as the abduction of the Leucippides from their wedding, may not offer a steady foothold, as this interpretation does not hold up convincingly against an individual analysis of its elements in relation to the other attestations of the abduction itself.

The engagement, therefore, can be considered an innovation by Theocritus, which served internal purposes to his narration, and was not widely accepted in the Greek world; later, it was adopted by Latin literature, in which it became the prevailing version of the story.⁸⁹ The evolution of the myth in Latin literature and culture goes beyond the aims of this discussion, so we shall not dwell much on the sources. A couple of points are, nevertheless, worth noticing. First, the story makes its appearance both in poetry and prose at the same time, and quite late (Augustan age), with Ovid and Hyginus.⁹⁰ By this time, the knowledge of Greek myth is a staple of Latin-speaking culture; however, it is a culture founded on the acquisition of Greek literary sources, far from the oral, iconographic, religious, and local traditions that had informed Greek myth in the previous centuries. In this context, it seems more likely that the Latin

⁸⁹ Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.697-704 (T31); Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 80.1-2 (T32); Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, 1.10.5 (T33).

⁹⁰ Ovid, *Fasti* 5.697-704 (T31); Hyginus, *Fabulae* 80 (T32). A short mention of the Leucippides also appears in Propertius 1.2.15-16; it refers only to the abduction, while the engagement is completely absent.

authors inherited the version of the myth told by authoritative authors such as Theocritus, rather than learning of a myth from local stories, to which they had limited access. This process is more evident in Ovid, who seems to refer to Theocritus for the abduction (previous engagement of the Leucippides with the Apharetidae and Leucippus' promises to both the Apharetidae and the Dioscuri, which appear exclusively in Theocritus, as discussed above) and Pindar for the duel. Secondly, even when the previous engagement became widely accepted, the sources still did not speak of an abduction *from the wedding*, but only of brides-to-be. Ovid calls the Leucippides *suas* (sc. of the Apharetidae), but states that the Apharetidae “had both agreed with Leucippus to become his sons-in-law”;⁹¹ therefore, they are betrothed, but nothing suggests a wedding in course. Hyginus and Lactantius both call the Leucippides *sponsas* (sc. again, of the Apharetidae), but *sponsa* means “fiancée”, not “bride”.⁹² To sum up, in Latin sources we only find the version of the abduction that also requires the previous engagement, almost certainly under the influence of Theocritus; on the other hand, the abduction of the Leucippides from their wedding is not attested at all.

⁹¹ *Fasti* 5.702 (T31).

⁹² Hyginus, *Fabulae* 80 (T32); Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 1.10.5 (T33).

2. *A myth in context: the Leucippides in Sparta*

In the previous chapter, we examined the evolution of the story of the Leucippides through the literary sources. The picture that resulted is, however, only partial. We have a relatively clear image of their myth only at a late chronological stage, which does not allow for an unambiguous understanding of the local dimension of the myth of the Leucippides. In the following chapters, we shall analyse the appearances of the Leucippides throughout the Greek world to investigate where, when and how they were known. This process will lay the foundation for more charged questions, such as the reasons behind the use of this specific myth in specific contexts and the directions of its geographical spread.

This investigation could not start but from Sparta. In Sparta, in fact, we find the most consistent traces of the Leucippides' identity; the peculiarities of the Spartan Leucippides and their presence in local cult make for a unique picture that has no direct parallel in the rest of Greece and that suggests a Spartan origin for the Leucippides' myth. Also, Sparta is the established "birthplace" of the Dioscuri.¹ The previous chapter has shown how the Leucippides are intrinsically connected to the Dioscuri in literature but, as we shall see, the same could also be said for iconography and cult in most Greek contexts. Sparta is a partial exception in this picture; before dwelling on the connections between the Dioscuri and the Leucippides and their independent existences in Sparta, we shall set the stage by introducing the Spartan Dioscuri.

¹ The sources at our disposal are not adequate to pinpoint "the exact moment and place of birth" of the Dioscuri, but Sparta is largely considered the best candidate because of the antiquity of its earliest attestations of the Dioscuri, the Dioscuri's local peculiarities, the importance attributed to them in local cults and the weight of the traditional attribution of the Dioscuri's origins to Sparta by all Greeks. E.g. Theognis, 1087-1090; Pindar, *Isthmian* 1.16-18 and 28-31; Pindar, *Isthmian* 5.33; Herodotus 5.72.2; Pausanias 3.26.2. Cf. Frauenfelder 1991.

2.1. *The Spartan Dioscuri*

A series of peculiarities distinguishes the Dioscuri in Sparta, as opposed to other locations. Understanding the Dioscuri's Spartan identity may shed some light on the specifically Spartan identity of the Leucippides, too; in particular, it lays the foundations for a discussion of the nature of the connection between the Dioscuri and the Leucippides.

The myth of the Dioscuri is deeply rooted in Laconia. Whether they be sons of Zeus or of King Tyndareus (according to the possible versions of the story),² they belong to the royal family of Sparta, and to Sparta they are indissolubly connected, in life and death. Although their mythological adventures and their historical cult brought them to every corner of the Greek world, their Spartan origins were still recognised by most Greeks. However, the origins of the Spartan Dioscuri are still debated. In particular, they exhibit specific traits that were not “exported” to the rest of Greece, either because they were lost in time or, more probably, because they were intrinsically bound to the local reality of Sparta and, therefore, followed a different evolutionary path from the other traits. Some features may have originally belonged to a different set of local twin heroes, who were absorbed by the Indo-European Dioscuri. While this hypothesis is impossible to prove (and transcends the bounds of this research), it would be an adequate explanation for the consistent traits possessed by the Spartan Dioscuri in their most archaic appearances.³ In Spartan art, they are not necessarily depicted as ephebes, as they are in Athens, for instance; they often have pointed beards, conventionally indicating their adult age.⁴ Sometimes, only one of them does.⁵ Also,

² Both sons of Tyndareus: *Od.* 11.298-301. Both sons of Zeus: *Homeric Hymns* 17.2 and 33.1-7; Theocritus 22.1. Castor as son of Tyndareus, Polydeukes as son of Zeus: Pindar, *Nemean* 10.79-85.

³ On the topic, cf. e.g. Farnell 1921, Bianchi 1979, Paratore 1979, Piccaluga 1979, Pugliese Carratelli 1979, Frauenfelder 1991.

⁴ E.g. Sparta Museum 575.

⁵ This asymmetrical treatment of the twins is typical only of the archaic Peloponnese (e.g. Kypselos Chest in Pausanias 4.19.2). Pipili 1987, 55 suggests that this distinction might have been an artistic convention, meant to differentiate between mortal Castor, who grew old and therefore grew a beard, and immortal Polydeukes, eternally young and, therefore, ephebic in his appearance. However, the Chalcidian fragment from Reggio that bears the oldest, preserved depiction of the abduction of the Leucippides identifies *Polydeukes* as a bearded youth (fig. 1). As described in the following chapter, the models behind this type of production could be Spartan. The Dioscuri were assimilated to the Cabeiri in Samothrace possibly because of their shared protection of sailors, but also the Cabeiri originally had chthonian traits and were differentiated by age: young and beardless Kadmilos, old and bearded Axiokerkos (D'Anna 1979, 107).

they are depicted with long hair, which was common for Spartan adults (and not children), but foreign to most depictions of the Dioscuri outside Laconia.⁶ Their appearance, therefore, does not seem to be that of adolescents, but of young men and warriors. They were inspirational models for the Spartan youth.⁷

Secondly, the Spartan depictions of the Dioscuri show strongly chthonian traits, which are not found anywhere else. The Dioscuri are usually depicted with or as snakes, which are the chthonian animal *par excellence*.⁸ A chthonian connection seems also to be implied by the Spartan symbol of the Dioscuri, the δόκανα. Those were two parallel, wooden beams, connected by a third perpendicular beam. The *Etymologicon Magnum* explains the δόκανα as the open door of a Laconian tomb; modern scholars read them as either the backrest of a throne, on which Spartan chthonian heroes are usually depicted as sitting, or the door of Hades.⁹

The most common version of their story narrates that the Dioscuri spend half of their afterlife in the Underworld and the other half as gods on Mount Olympus;¹⁰ therefore, we expect them to be connected to death. However, this mythological version is only partially reflected in Sparta and is more controversial than usually assumed throughout the Archaic period.¹¹ Early literary sources are quite inconsistent,

⁶ Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, 11.3; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 22.1.

⁷ For instance, it has been suggested that their deeds could have been perceived as a model for the Spartan *agoge*, and their famous friendship and military valor could have led them to be thought of as the embodiment of *philadelphieia* and *andreia*, values expected from the Spartan warriors (Sanders 1992, 205, 208-210; Sanders 1993, 218, 222). Walker 2015, 131 calls them “gods of adolescence”, meaning that they guide the youths into their identity of adult warriors.

⁸ The connection between snakes and Earth, and therefore the Underworld, has been widely studied; possibly, it originated from the idea that the great *drakontes* (snakes/dragons) of myth were children of *Gaia* and populated hidden caves in its depths. Therefore, snakes were identified as protectors of heroic tombs (sometimes even as the avatars of the dead heroes themselves), since both dead heroes and snakes dwelt in the earth (e.g. Salapata 1993, 190 and 2006, 550-552). The presence of snakes on cultic stelai of heroes and heroines is especially common in Sparta (where it originated) from the mid-sixth century BC (Salapata 1993, 190-194; Ogden 2013, 148-254). The same idea can be found in the Athenian anguiform heroes (Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichonius). Snakes can also be connected to other meanings, such as richness and healing, but those affiliations are later and of more uncertain origin; for instance, the association with healing was promoted by Asclepius’ depictions with snakes, which could be a mere consequence of Asclepius’ originally heroic dimension (cf. Salapata 2006, 556); also, he had a clear connection with death, since he was extracted from his dead mother’s womb and, later in his life, he gained the ability to raise the dead.

⁹ A good overview of the possible interpretations in Guarducci 1979.

¹⁰ E.g. Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12).

¹¹ To be sure, a tomb of Castor existed in the city (Pausanias 3.13.1) and a sanctuary of Polydeukes was built on the way to Therapne (Pausanias 3.20.1). This seems to suggest that the Dioscuri were both entombed heroes and gods, although the separation between the brothers (tomb of *Castor*, sanctuary of *Polydeukes*) points to their different nature (Castor a mortal and Polydeukes an immortal). According

up to Pindar's *Nemean* 10. For instance, *Iliad* 3.234-244 knows only of the Dioscuri's death and not of their fate after their death, while the *Homeric Hymns* 17 and 33 and Alceus 34V-34(a) L-P only know of their divine nature. The *Cypria*, as transmitted by Proclus' *Argumentum* (*Chrestomathy*, 3 – T26) stated that Zeus granted them immortality on alternating days (but it is not clear what happened to them on the days they were not immortal). *Odyssey* 11.298-304 maintains that they are alive one day, dead the next; while being alive does not necessarily mean being gods, the part of the deal involving their death is clearly recognisable. As a very last example, we shall mention a *scholion* to Euripides, who reports that Alcman said that the Dioscuri could be found alive under the ground of Therapne.¹² The meaning of this expression is ambiguous and has never been specifically studied in its context; the Dioscuri's underground existence seems to point to their heroic nature, but entombed heroes could hardly be described as alive. Possibly, it should be read as the Spartan version of their double nature: underground as the dead, but alive as the immortals. It seems, therefore, that the abnormality of their afterlife was known in Archaic Sparta, too, but their existence as living heroes (or gods?) inside their tomb does not seem to fit in the widely known picture of alternating immortality.

To summarise, if we exclude this last problematic case, no literary (i.e. mythological) source attesting the Dioscuri's connection to the Underworld comes from Sparta, and the presence of this episode itself in archaic literature is too fluctuating to be considered a solid starting point. Therefore, we can take all these instances as proof that the elements connecting the Dioscuri to the Underworld in Sparta cannot be directly related to this specific episode of their mythological (and mostly literary) existence.

In our previous analysis, we discussed the “chthonian” traits of the Dioscuri. In recent years, the term “chthonian” has been at the centre of a lively debate and its use in a scholarly analysis cannot exempt itself from mentioning at least the crux of the matter. The traditional division of cults in two categories, Olympian and Chthonian,

to *Schol. Eur. Tro.* 210, Alcman narrated that the Dioscuri could be found, alive, under the ground of Therapne.

¹² *Schol. Eur. Tro.* 210 “οἰκητήριον δέ φησι τὰς Θεράπνας τῶν Διοσκούρων παρ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν τῆς Θεράπνης εἶναι λέγονται ζῶντες ὡς Ἀλκμάν φησιν.” “They say that Therapne is the home of the Dioscuri, where, under the ground of Therapne, they are said to be alive, as Alcman narrates”.

has been recently questioned and found unsatisfying. It seems clearer now that a conceptual distinction between gods and heroes (i.e. immortal and mortals) is more relevant to Greek religion, although this structure does not seem enough to explain the variety inherent in Greek cult practices, especially since this ideological divide was not as neat in the sacrificial practice, in which hybrid cases, deviations and “contaminations” were commonplace.¹³ Naturally, this debate falls largely beyond the scope of this project, as the term “chthonian” has been used here to refer broadly to chthonian *traits* (i.e. connected to the Underworld and death), the existence of which is not questioned,¹⁴ without connecting them to the *cult* of the Spartan Dioscuri, which is mostly unknown to us, or to their specific *nature* (heroes or local gods).¹⁵ Chthonian traits, in fact, do not imply that the Dioscuri received any specific form of cult, nor that they were considered (and honoured as) either Chthonian gods or heroes.¹⁶ What is relevant to our discussion is, instead, that this category of traits is only recognisable in Sparta and reflects a local identity that is clearly separated from the Dioscuri’s Panhellenic identity.

Finally, an indirect suggestion of their nature as local heroes/gods comes from the myths in which they are involved. As we have seen, the abduction of the Leucippides and the fight against the Apharetidae – both local episodes – are attested from the Archaic period onwards. On the other hand, the big Panhellenic stories, to which they are connected (the Calydonian Hunt and the expedition of the Argonauts), see the Dioscuri as marginal characters, whose importance is entirely inconsistent with their semi-divine status and cultic influence, almost as if they were a later addition and not a vital part of both myths.

The Calydonian Hunt is a widely known myth, set in Aetolia, but involving heroes from all over Greece. The story was certainly known from a very early date since it is the necessary prequel to Phoenix’s *exemplum* about Meleager in *Iliad* 9.524-

¹³ On the topic of Olympian and Chthonian cults, cf. Schlesier 1991; Scullion 2000; Ekroth 2002; Antonaccio 2005, Henrichs 2005, Parker 2005 and, more generally, the collection of articles in Hägg and Alroth 2005; Ekroth 2007; Pirenne-Delforge 2008b, 187-201; Deacy 2015; Ekroth 2015.

¹⁴ E.g. Ekroth 2002, 311.

¹⁵ The distinction between the two categories is often fleeting (cf. Ekroth 2002, 20-21, 215. 330-331 and 2015, 383-385, 393) and much depends on the traditions concerning the character’s death. In Sparta, Castor had a tomb but Polydeukes did not. Is it enough to assume that Castor was a hero and Polydeukes a god and, therefore, they received different forms of cult?

¹⁶ E.g. Deacy 2015, 364.

599. All later literary sources report the participation of the Dioscuri in the Hunt;¹⁷ the Dioscuri can also be identified in many collective scenes depicting the Hunt.¹⁸ However, their regular presence in catalogues and group depictions of the participants is not met with the description or narration of any specific episode or heroic deed.¹⁹ The Dioscuri are probably the most famous heroes taking part in the Hunt, being sons of Zeus and nephews of King Oineus (his wife Althea, mother of Meleager, is the sister of Leda, mother of the Dioscuri). However, their presence goes unnoticed, and they do not shine among their peers or obtain any particular glory.

The expedition of the Argonauts is an equally archaic and even more famous saga. The story was probably known as far back as in the *Iliad*, where Jason is mentioned in several passages.²⁰ Also in this case, the Dioscuri are among the regular members of the crew, starting from Pindar's *Pythian* 4.193-246,²¹ but their presence is more significant than in the Calydonian Hunt. In particular, most sources attest one episode with the Dioscuri as protagonists: the boxing match between Polydeukes and Amicus, king of the Bebrices. However, the match is a highly self-contained episode, not closely connected to what precedes and follows. It could not have occurred in the expedition at all, without modifying the wider story significantly. The same cannot be said for other secondary episodes, such as the meeting with the Lemnian women, Heracles' disappearance or Phineus' prophecy. Therefore, we cannot prove that the Dioscuri were an "original", or even an important, part of the story, since the main episode concerning them can be removed from the story without consequence. We can conclude that the Dioscuri themselves could have been added to the story at any time before Pindar, and the Amicus' episode in particular at any time before Apollonius and Theocritus.²²

¹⁷ Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 1.146-150; Apollodorus 1.67; Pausanias 8.45.6-7; Hyginus 173; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8.300-302. On depictions of the Hunt, cf. Barringer 2001, 147-161.

¹⁸ E.g. *LIMC*, s. v. Meleagros, 7, 19, 27, 33.

¹⁹ It is in the nature of catalogues to see the regular replacement of names that lost their appeal with new names (cf. Henrichs 1987, 252-254). Possibly, a pair of uninfluential heroes was replaced at a certain point by the Dioscuri, but the structure of the episode no longer allowed for the introduction of new, meaningful deeds.

²⁰ *Il.* 7.467-469; 21.40-44; 23.746-747.

²¹ Cf. also Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 1.146-150; Apollodorus 1.111.

²² *Idyll* 22 (T9).

To conclude our analysis of the Dioscuri's presence in these two traditions, the Calydonian Hunt and the expedition of the Argonauts, there is a final point to consider. Both stories belong to the generation before the Trojan War. The Trojan War revolves around Helen's abduction; the Dioscuri are Helen's brothers and therefore should logically belong to the same generation as her; however, the oldest attestations of the War (*Iliad* and *Cypria*) agree that the Dioscuri had died immediately before the beginning of it. Since the Trojan War monopolised the energies of all the greatest heroes of that age, no other heroic saga took place during the same generation; this means that the Dioscuri were excluded by their death from the only great Panhellenic venture of their natural generation. Therefore, they could have been artificially "moved" to the great Panhellenic deeds of the previous generation. However, since their participation in them was not an original feature of those stories, they were never entirely integrated into them.

Consequently, the Dioscuri in Sparta have some peculiar traits – both in their physical appearance in art and in their cult – that are not attested anywhere else in the Greek world.²³ In particular, these features connect them to the Underworld and are consistently attested from the Archaic age onwards. The separate, local dimension of the Spartan Dioscuri can be reinforced by the specific episodes of the myth in which the Dioscuri are involved: important roles in local (i.e. Spartan) sagas, limited presence in Panhellenic sagas. The existence of "specifically Spartan" Dioscuri will prove useful as a legitimising precedent and parallel for the Leucippides; originating from the same context, bonded by myth, and connected in their social function of ideal young people, the two pairs are reflected in each other, and possibly share some evolutionary patterns, as we shall try to demonstrate in the following discussion.

²³ A clear explanation for the reasons of this phenomenon is not available to us but must be connected to the remotest origins of the myth itself. Possibly, the traits that set the Spartan Dioscuri apart from their other embodiments derived from other local characters who were syncretically fused to the Divine Twins or were due to an only local evolution of the story or were lost when the myth of the Dioscuri started its expansion farther from Sparta. Anyhow, finding a solution to this question is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

2.2. *Political use and value*

The abduction of the daughters of the neighbouring King Leucippus at the hand of the Dioscuri is the principal embodiment of the “local” story and “local” deed among the Dioscuri’s feats, as opposed to their Panhellenic deeds such as the expedition of the Argonauts and the Calydonian Boar Hunt. While the episode is known wherever the story of the Dioscuri is attested, all the characters involved are specifically connected with archaic Peloponnesian politics. The abduction of two unmarried girls by two young heroes is automatically perceived by modern scholarship as an episodic reflection of the wider sociological theme of “female initiation and marriage” throughout the Greek world, as we shall see in the following chapters. However, this episode also resonates in deeper and more complex ways, which we shall analyse in this chapter, in the Spartan context.

First, it reflects the local dimension of the Dioscuri’s deeds and connects all of the characters involved with the political situation of the archaic Peloponnese.²⁴ When Paris, sailing from far away Troy, abducts Helen from Sparta, a war ensues; on the other hand, the abduction of the Leucippides is no more than a neighbourhood quarrel (occasionally concluded by a duel, but, as we have seen, the Apharetidae’s involvement is not a necessary feature).²⁵ It only concerns the personal glory and honour of the heroes involved, i.e. the abductors (the Dioscuri) and the father of the girls (Leucippus). This absence of wider political consequences is mirrored by the fact that the fight against the Apharetidae can be motivated either by the abduction of the Leucippides or by a cattle raid, both seen as petty indignities at a local, if not individual, level.²⁶ In fact, raiding cattle and women from neighbouring countries is a

²⁴ Myths were often used, created and modified for political purposes, such as legitimising wars, claims and political interests. On the use of myth as propaganda, cf. Bremmer 1997.

²⁵ Cf. section 1.2. However, the duel between the Apharetidae (Messenians) and the Dioscuri (Spartans) reflects the same border situation. Cf. Hornblower 2015, 237.

²⁶ The relationship between the two episodes, i.e. the abduction of the Leucippides and the duel with the Apharetidae, has been considered in detail in section 1.2. For this discussion, it may suffice to remind the reader that both episodes are attested from the archaic period, but are not connected until the Hellenistic age, possibly under the influence of an oral tradition that collapsed three different episodes: the fight of the Dioscuri against the Apharetidae because of cattle, a fight against the Hippocoontids because of women and the abduction of the Leucippides.

typical deed of young heroes in the archaic age, as attested, for example, by Nestor's tale.²⁷

As to be expected, Panhellenic myths tend to deal with Panhellenic deeds, while border squabbles come under the jurisdiction of local myths. Therefore, when the local story of the abduction gets exported outside of Laconia and loses its local value, it becomes a flimsy appendix to the story of the Dioscuri, the message of which can be adapted to other circumstances (i.e. offer an excuse for the deadly combat against the Apharetidae, or be used as an iconic example of the *topos* of the abducted maiden). As I have shown, the duel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae, while an extremely ancient part of the myth of the Dioscuri, is not originally connected to the episode of the abduction of the Leucippides. On the other hand, merely reducing the incident to the mythological theme of the abducted maiden, so popular in Athenian pottery in the fifth century BC, would be a mistake. The cultural value of the "abduction of the Leucippides" motif in Sparta exceeds the limits imposed by an artistic convention, as we shall see. A myth about rivalries between royal families and border-crossing raids is bound to tell a story of some political meaning, on both sides of the border in question. In particular, this must ring even truer across a turbulent border such as the one that in the archaic age separated Laconia and Messenia.²⁸

First, the Dioscuri are Sparta's "national heroes". The Spartans identify themselves with the Dioscuri, and their glorious deeds belong to their Spartan descendants, especially their victory and affirmation over their historical rivals (the Messenians, obviously). The abduction episode, while often ignored outside of Laconia or exclusively bound to the cult of the Dioscuri,²⁹ enjoys in Sparta a distinct identity; it is independent of any cult and figures among the greatest mythological deeds of the heroes of the land. In fact, the oldest attested occurrences of the abduction

²⁷ *Il.* 11.670-684. It is interesting to stress that cattle-raiding is a typical activity of archaic, young heroes in a specific context: the Western Peloponnese. Its natural background is the fertile plains of Messenia and Elis. Cf. Nobili 2009, 174.

²⁸ As noted for example by Calame 1987, 166-170, this political turmoil is already reflected in myth some generations before the Dioscuri. In fact, Messenia gets "founded again" by the Thessalian Perieres and his Argive wife Gorgophone; however, Gorgophone's second husband, Oibalos, is a Spartan king. These ties of family and rivalry between Sparta and Messene get reinforced by Perieres' son, Aphareus, who marries Arene, Oibalos' daughter. Tyndareus, the Dioscuri's father, and Leucippus, the Leucippides' father, belong to the same generation – being Oibalos' son the former, Perieres' son the latter.

²⁹ E.g. in Argos and Athens, as shown in the next chapters.

of the Leucippides in Sparta make their appearance in the second half of the sixth century.

Pausanias mentions ἡ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἄρπαγή among the depictions both in the temple of Athena Chalkioikos and on the throne of Apollo Amycleus.³⁰ He seems to be under the impression – which we cannot prove or disprove in any way – that what he saw was still the original decoration of both buildings.³¹ This is a recurring problem when using Pausanias as a source; his description of second-century AD Greece is generally punctual and trustworthy, but extrapolating chronological data from his descriptions is not a straightforward process. In particular, recognising how old a ritual, festival or custom as he sees them actually are is a challenge in itself. The situation concerning buildings and monuments is occasionally more linear, as Pausanias may mention the painters, architects and sculptors involved. In the absence of archaeological evidence, however, the trustworthiness of these attributions and the subsequent dating of the buildings described should not be taken as an absolute given.

Pausanias does not describe the scene either in the temple of Athena nor on the throne of Apollo; from his words, we can only infer that he believed the scene to be unmistakable. Considering how precisely Pausanias is capable of describing episodes that he deems to be scarcely known or recognisable, Faustoferri suggests that the characters' names must have been inscribed.³² Nevertheless, it is also likely that the scene had recognisable traits that made it impossible to confuse it with any other abduction; for instance, an overview of abduction scenes in iconographic sources reveals that the abduction of the Leucippides is the only case of a “double abduction” proper, which implies the presence at the same time of two abductors and two abducted girls. We should notice that Pausanias does not say who the abductors are, perhaps because it is obvious; by Pausanias' time, the story had been told many times, both in

³⁰ 3.17.3 (T19) and 3.18.11 (T20). He attributes the construction and decoration of Athena's temple to Gitiadas of Sparta, and of the throne of Apollo to Bathykles the Magnesian. Also *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi, 190-191. For the possible structure of the throne, cf. Tomlinson 1992.

³¹ The traditional dating of the throne is the late sixth century BC (e.g. Pipili 1987, 81), while the temple of Athena is dated to the middle sixth century BC (e.g. Pipili 1987, 80). Faustoferri 1993 instead proposes to date the complex of throne and decoration to about 570 BC, on the basis of the style of its capitals and the thematic connections between the decorative program and the Spartan family of the Aigeidai, of Boeotian origins. The throne should therefore be slightly older than the temple of Athena. The excavations in both sites did not find much (e.g. Tomlinson 1992).

³² Faustoferri 1993, 159.

literature and in iconography, and his readers must have been familiar enough with it. In any case, what matters in this instance is that – if the decoration as seen by Pausanias was still the original, or at least a copy of the original – this mythological episode was well known, recognisable and appreciated by the Spartans as far back as the second half of the sixth century BC, as a natural consequence of its appearance on two of the most important public locations of Sparta, the temple of Athena (*Polias* goddess of Sparta) and the temple of Apollo (probably the main god in Sparta). It is particularly relevant to point out that the abduction of the Leucippides is the only deed of the Dioscuri that Pausanias mentions and, therefore, isolates among the decorations of the temple of Athena; others of their exploits that he still sees on the bronze reliefs of the temple are only mentioned collectively (Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων ἄλλα).

The iconographic program of the throne of Apollo is particularly relevant for our discussion. In fact, it depicted a considerable number of scenes that can be thematically connected to the abduction of the Leucippides, such as other abductions by both gods and heroes, weddings from the myths, and episodes and characters related to the family of the Dioscuri, such as Anaxias and Mnasinous on horseback.³³ Among the episodes depicted on the Throne, the abduction of the Leucippides is chronologically the last of the episodes concerning the origins of Sparta and reflects the themes and values expressed by the first episode.³⁴ In the first scene, Zeus carries off Taygete, the nymph who gave her name to the Peloponnesian mountain and represents the annexation of Laconia, the territory lying at its feet in the east.³⁵ The abduction of the Messenian Leucippides is, instead, the obvious choice to symbolise the conquest of Messenia and its fertile plains, which were the foundations of Spartan power.³⁶ The Spartan suitors take off with the Messenian maidens and unify the two dynasties through a marriage alliance.³⁷ As already mentioned, the fight between the Apharetidae and the Dioscuri is not initially or necessarily connected to the abduction of the Leucippides;

³³ While Pausanias does not explain their identity, Tzetzes attests those two names as the names of the Dioscuri's sons. Cf. Tzetzes, *ad Lycophronem* 511 (T29).

³⁴ Faustoferri 1996, 201 and 204.

³⁵ It might be useful to mention that Zeus and Taygete's son is the eponymous hero Lakedaimon. The toponym Lakedaimon, in opposition to the city of Sparta, is thought to indicate "the city and also the region of which it is the capital", therefore covering the whole space of Laconia, at the feet of mount Taygetus (cf. Calame 1987, 162).

³⁶ Faustoferri 1993, 161.

³⁷ Faustoferri 1996, 109.

nonetheless, the two episodes are both ancient and should be read as contemporary and complementary to each other. In fact, at the time of these events, we find two kings of Messenia, both of them sons of Perieres. Leucippus' royal line is extinguished with his daughters and their incorporation into the royal family of Sparta; Aphareus' royal line dies with his two sons, Idas and Lynceus, killed by the Dioscuri in a double duel. Once again, the throne of Messenia is left empty, and it is historically absorbed into the Spartan sphere of influence and direct domain.³⁸ This myth reflects the status of Peloponnesian politics after the annexation of Messenia during the seventh century BC and must have reached its final form in the same period.³⁹

Both the Dioscuri and the Leucippides are also known on the other side of the border, in Messenia. The political application of their stories is, of course, the specular opposite of the Spartan one, and follows two main directions. First, we have the appropriation of the main characters; the Messenian version of the myth asserts that, if the episode of the abduction actually happened as the story goes, the Spartans modified it in their favour, because the triumphant heroes, the Dioscuri, were actually born in Messenian territory, and the glory of their deeds legitimately belongs to their fellow countrymen.⁴⁰ The fact that the traditional version of the abduction was known and also accepted in Messene is proved for instance by the statues of the Dioscuri carrying the two girls away, which stood in proximity to the shrine of Demeter, according to Pausanias.⁴¹

The other possible interaction of the Messenians with the Leucippides is the extolling of the original royal family of Messene, in its integrity and independence, safe from the assaults of the Spartan heroes. This idea can be found in Pausanias' description of the sanctuary of Asclepius in Messene.⁴² Specifically, at the back of the temple of the city's eponymous heroine, Messene, Pausanias sees a painting of the royal genealogies of Messene, encompassing the mythological story of the city before the advent of the Heracleidae (Aphareus) and after (Cresphontes), and also the Pylian

³⁸ Calame 1987, 172-174; Faustoferri 1996, 111.

³⁹ Calame 1987, 177.

⁴⁰ Pausanias 4.31.9 (T23).

⁴¹ Pausanias 4.31.9 (T23). However, we do not know whether the statues were created during the re-foundation of the city or later on, and in that case when that would have been. The statues themselves and their precise context are not described.

⁴² Pausanias 4.31.11-12 (T24).

reign (Nestor). Among these characters, Leucippus, his daughters Phoibe and Hilaeira, and also their sister Arsinoe, mother of Asclepius, according to the Messenian legend,⁴³ are isolated. This family unit, in fact, comes later than its natural (chronological) position, by Aphareus' side; whether this privileged position is Pausanias' descriptive choice because he wants to emphasise the Messenian legend concerning Asclepius' birth or reflects an actual spatial separation in the painting is unclear. In any case, this narrative separation and the fact that the three daughters of Leucippus are the only females on the list somehow seem to steer the reader's attention on them.

The painting is attributed to Omphalion, a follower of Nicias, and dated to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. We have no further details; Pausanias does not describe where exactly the painting could be seen, what its purpose was, when it was painted, and how it was spatially organised.⁴⁴ Despite being inside a sanctuary, the paintings do not have a cultic meaning and do not express any religious value of the myth. Instead, we can imagine that a strong political connotation was given to such a scene – a compelling claim to the ancient traditions of political, cultural and mythological independence from Sparta, after centuries of slavery.⁴⁵ From this point of view, the fact that the Leucippides are depicted without their abductors/husbands, but with their father, could only happen in Messene, as a reminder of their belonging to their paternal (Messenian) family before the Spartan Dioscuri took possession of their story.

So far, we have only been able to describe the status of matters after the re-foundation of Messene in 369 BC at the hand of Epaminondas. Is it possible that Messenian traditions dating to a time before the Spartan conquest existed and were transmitted down to the fourth century? It would be strange that a whole population of

⁴³ Sineux 1997, 10-15 tries to follow the intricacies of Asclepius' Messenian origins, and suggests – quite convincingly – that such a tradition largely pre-dates the foundation of Messene and might be dated as far back as the *Iliad* and Hesiod. While this question falls outside the topic and scope of this research, it still is significant to note that stories concerning the family of the Leucippides can be traced so far back.

⁴⁴ *LIMC* s.v. Dioskouroi 213. Sineux 1997, 6 proposes that the paintings were not inside the temple, but on the outer wall at its back. On the reconstruction of the sanctuary, cf. Sideris – Roussou – Gaitatzes 2004.

⁴⁵ On the topic, cf. Ekroth 2010, 111: “At the foundation of Messene in 370, as the capital of the new, free Messenia, the old heroes were called up again (Pausanias 4.27.6), an action underlining the idea of the heroes forming the core of the city”.

helotised Messenian slaves, stable in the territory for centuries (as Helots could not be sold away), with family continuity (as Helots could not be freed, and no one could become a Helot at a later time), with a common “identity” given at least by a common name, could exist for centuries without any form of self-reflecting cultural practice, whether it be remembering a lost age of freedom or inventing one from scratch.⁴⁶ It seems more likely, therefore, that the traditions surrounding the re-foundation of Messene in the fourth century BC were born from a politically-driven reinterpretation of ancient oral traditions, in a process of recreation of historical memory culminating in the re-foundation of the city, but which had been ongoing for centuries.⁴⁷ A strong suggestion in this direction comes from Rhegion, for which the sources attest a strong participation of Messenian elements that seems to be well established by the time of the tyrant Anaxilas (early fifth century BC), who proudly reclaimed his Messenian origins. Our oldest preserved attestation of the abduction of the Leucippides, in fact, comes from Rhegion and is dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BC.⁴⁸

To conclude, as far as political identities and purposes in Sparta are concerned, the Leucippides have no existence independent of the Dioscuri; nonetheless, what appears to be a minor episode of the myth can still be charged with great value in its geopolitical context. At this point, a more complex idea of the Leucippides in Sparta starts forming. The myth of their abduction is widely known from the archaic period onwards (sufficiently so to be placed and recognised on the main monuments of the city); it not only has social implications (as a symbol of marriage) but reflects and justifies the political situation of Laconia in its historical phases, in particular concerning the turbulent relationship with neighbouring Messenia. On the other side of the border, the Leucippides are known too; they appear among the restored traditions of the refounded Messene as members of the proudly independent genealogies of Messenian kings and, therefore, as a symbol of the equally proud, newly independent Messenian nation. The origins and dating of this Messenian tradition are uncertain, but the parallel with its Spartan counterpart, the probable existence of oral

⁴⁶ This position is, instead, suggested by Luraghi 2002a and 2002b. He believes that it is not possible to speak about culture and identity for pre-Spartan Messenia; Messenian identity would be a by-product of the historical opposition between the Spartans and the Laconised perioikoi of Messenia.

⁴⁷ Proietti 2012.

⁴⁸ Cf. section 3.1.1.

traditions in Messenia even during the Spartan occupation, and finally the presence of the Leucippides in Rhegion, where the Messenian influence can be postulated from an early date, all support the hypothesis of a tradition as ancient and locally relevant as the Spartan one.

2.3. Social implications

In the previous section, we have discussed the political meaning of the abduction of the Leucippides in relation to the border between Laconia and Messenia and its historical evolution. In this section, we shall introduce a topic that will be a recurring theme in the following chapters: the social meaning of abduction myths and the exemplary value of the abduction of the Leucippides. We shall repeatedly come back to these points; for the moment, we shall highlight the added value of this episode in Sparta.

The abduction of the Leucippides, in fact, is not just *any* myth about an abduction, but *the* myth about an abduction in Sparta, perpetrated by *the* Spartan gods/heroes par excellence. Allegedly, a more famous and celebrated abduction in the Spartan royal family would be Helen's; however, Paris' actions are always connotated negatively. Helen was a married woman, and Paris' violation of hospitality (even worse, to the detriment of the King of Sparta) could never be presented as a model.⁴⁹ The Dioscuri instead operate on a different moral ground. The two demigods, born in Sparta, are the glorious antecedents of the historical diarchy and the ageless models of the Spartan youth. Also, the Leucippides are young, unmarried maidens, of noble origins and possibly of divine parentage, as we shall discuss, and therefore were the ideal victims of a heroic abduction and the perfect wives for the Dioscuri themselves, who were of noble origins and sons of Zeus. Thus, their abduction takes on the characteristics of a timeless model. As the Dioscuri are the ideal Spartan youths, the Leucippides appear as the ideal Spartan maidens, and their interaction is proposed as

⁴⁹ If a wedding ensued, it happened in Troy and bound the Spartan queen to a foreigner, hardly a worthy model for Spartan weddings.

a model of the ideal wedding.⁵⁰ Late sources suggest that a traditional Spartan wedding involved a mock, ritual abduction.⁵¹ To be sure, an ideological and iconographic parallel between marriage and abduction (and often the abduction of the Leucippides in particular) runs through all Greek culture, as we shall see in the following chapters. In this specific context, however, the connection seems to be elevated to a different, structural level, involving the idea itself of a wedding ceremony.

That said, the Spartan Leucippides do not appear as ideal Spartan maidens only because of their marriage connection with the Dioscuri. From a series of fragmentary sources, we can suggest a cultic dimension of the Leucippides, who were considered goddesses in Sparta. They enjoyed a peculiar cult exclusive to them, had their priestesses, their temple, and possibly played a major role in initiatory rites, as *parthenoi* entering into adulthood. As is to be expected, the main difficulty in dealing with this type of character is the almost complete loss of primary sources from Sparta. Therefore, we are required to work from fragments, feeble traces, and influences of Spartan culture on neighbouring cities; much can be extrapolated with some degree of certainty, but a complete picture is still far to come.

⁵⁰ As we shall have the occasion to see in detail on Athenian pottery, the protagonists of mythological abduction scenes are usually ephebes-heroes. The social model of abduction/rape, as seen by Reeves Sanday 1986, 93, is typical of groups of “junior males” who “are temporarily peripheral” to their social structure, and whose “source of prestige is dependent on [their] status” inside the same group.

⁵¹ Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 15.3-6 (T14). Cf. Pomeroy 2002, 41-42.

2.4. *The cult: the temple*

According to Pausanias, the Leucippides were worshipped in their own temple in Sparta.⁵² Given the limits of archaeological excavations in Sparta, Pausanias remains our only source of information concerning a considerable number of Spartan buildings, at least for their state during the Imperial period.⁵³ As is his custom, Pausanias does not give accurate information about the cult itself but still offers us some valuable details.

πλησίον δὲ Ἰλαείρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι. κόραι δὲ ἱερῶνται σφισι παρθένοι, καλούμεναι κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ αὗται Λευκιππίδες. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερασαμένη τις ταῖς θεαῖς Λευκιππίς ἐπεκόσμησε, πρόσωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ποιησαμένη τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τέχνης τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπικοσμεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπεν ὄνειρον. ἐνταῦθα ἀπήρτηται ῥὸν τοῦ ὀρόφου κατειλημένον ταινίαις· εἶναι δὲ φασιν ῥὸν ἐκεῖνο ὃ τεκεῖν Λήδαν ἔχει λόγος.

Near, there is the sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoibe. The poet of the *Cypria* says that they are daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are maidens, also themselves called Leucippides, as the goddesses. One Leucippid who served the goddesses as priestess embellished one of the two statues, giving it a face of modern craftsmanship instead of the old one, but a dream enjoined her not to also embellish the other. There, an egg is hung from the ceilings by ribbons; they say it is the famous egg that the legend tells that Leda laid.

First, while referring to the *Cypria*, he transmits an ancient tradition, according to which the Leucippides were the daughters of Apollo; while Pausanias does not openly state it, this tradition could have been particularly rooted in the Spartan area, since the Leucippides are not considered divine or semi-divine anywhere else. Also, he mentions the Leucippides and their abduction in many instances, but only here does he spell out this connection. If the Leucippides were (also) daughters of Apollo, we

⁵² Pausanias 3.16.1 (T18). Plutarch, *Moralia*, 302d (T13) mentions this temple, too. While his testimony is firmly imbedded in the mythological past of Sparta and should not be taken at face value, it is still interesting to consider that, to Plutarch, this temple seemed to be such a pivotal part of the city to believe it to be as old as the very beginnings of the Spartan diarchy.

⁵³ On Pausanias' general trustworthiness cf. Hutton 2005, 18-21. On Pausanias' specific interest for religious sites and ancient traditions, cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1998, 2004, 2008 and 2010b; Hutton 2010.

cannot be sure how they interacted with the father from whom they received their patronymic, Leucippus. Possibly, he was their putative human father, as is a common occurrence in Greek myth. Coincidentally, the most famous pair of brothers whose patronymic derived from their putative human father were the Tyndaridae (i.e. the Dioscuri). The Dioscuri themselves are generally described as young men riding white horses;⁵⁴ while this point does not explain the connection with Apollo, it suggests that Leucippus could have been an artificial figure, conveniently created to explain the birth of the “White-Horse” girls, brides of the “White-Horse” riders.⁵⁵

The tradition concerning the Leucippides’ divine paternity, unfortunately, is not attested anywhere else in literature; however, a nudge in this direction may come from an Athenian calyx krater (fig. 4) dated to 475-425 BC, on which Apollo is depicted in the midst of the action during the abduction of the Leucippides.⁵⁶ The scene can be found on the upper register and runs around the entirety of the vase; on one side, a youth, wearing a chlamys over a chiton and a wreath on his head, runs a chariot among scattering women. A static female is at his side and holds the reins in one hand, while with the other she holds on tightly to the youth’s neck. On the other side of the vase, a similar scene takes place; an identical youth drives an identical chariot with a similar female on it (her hairstyle is different, and she holds the reins with both hands). Instead of scattering girls, the chariot is preceded by a conventional ephebe (nude with only a chlamys, a petasos hanging behind his neck and two spears in his hands) while a solemn male figure stands beside the chariot. He wears a himation and an olive wreath and holds two olive branches in his hand. He is easily identified as Apollo.

As far as iconographic sources are concerned, this is the only instance in which Apollo appears in this specific episode, and his connection to the episode itself is not otherwise evident. We are left to wonder whether the tradition of the Leucippides’

⁵⁴ Pindar, *Pythian* 1.66; Euripides, *Helen* 638; Euripides, *Phoenissae* 606; Lucian, *Dialogues of the gods*, 25; Justin 20.3.

⁵⁵ Concerning this point, it is interesting to notice that Euripides (*Helen* 638) calls the Dioscuri κόροι λευκιπποι, a perfect match to the κόρας Λευκιππίδας (*Helen* 1465-1466). It is worth mentioning that, in this mythological phase, there is a doubling of Messenian kings (Leucippus and Aphareus) that is unique in all Messenian myth, which might suggest that one of the kings (i.e. Leucippus) did not originally belong to this same period or genealogy or was only created in connection with his alleged daughters.

⁵⁶ We may want to consider that Apollo is not famous for his *successful* pursuits of girls, so he would not be a good patron for the Dioscuri in this scene (e.g. Lyons 1997, 93). Instead, he is the main god of Sparta, so he would have been a natural choice for a divine paternity of the Leucippides, goddesses only found in Sparta, and who had no explicit story or genealogy as goddesses.

divine paternity, not attested in other Attic sources, could have been familiar and meaningful to the Athenians of the fifth century BC. Despite the krater being significantly later than the *Cypria*, the temporal distance does not necessarily disprove the thematic connection but possibly even enhances it, confirming the existence, diffusion and persistence of this tradition. Obviously, much could be due to the *Cypria*, even if the Leucippides' divine paternity was only mentioned in passing, but this does not exclude the possibility of a more widespread tradition or of other ways of transmission of this variant. If we assume that Apollo appears here as the Leucippides' father, we would find the human father of the girls sitting powerless, watching or hearing about the abduction from afar, while their divine father stands right in the middle of the action, giving his blessing to the union of his daughters with Zeus' sons.⁵⁷

Inside the temple, there were two cult statues of the Leucippides. From Pausanias' description, it seems that they might have been quite old (although nothing precise can be said on the topic) since one of them was given a new face, in a "contemporary" (ἐφ' ἡμῶν) style, by a priestess; in order for Pausanias to point this out, the stylistic difference between the "ancient" face of one statue and the "modern craftsmanship" of the other must have been stark, suggesting a relevant chronological chasm. It is hard to define when this intervention might have taken place, as the wording "ἐφ' ἡμῶν", from Pausania's point of view, may still refer to a much earlier date and indicate a simple opposition between an "archaic" style and a "more modern" one. The fact that the priestess was prevented from embellishing both statues, so that a clear difference in their appearance ensued, might preserve some traces of a

⁵⁷ Already Tillyard 1923, 67 made this suggestion. Cf. Zeus' possible approval on our Chalcidian fragment (fig.1). On the other hand, we should consider that there may also be other reasons for Apollo's appearance. For instance, Apollo is connected to almost every aspect of Spartan religion, including the initiation of young girls to their adult life (as we shall see, abductions of maidens are often used as a symbol of marriage). However, it is less likely that an Athenian painter and his customer would have been interested in a strictly Spartan version of the story, if they were not already familiar with it. Another factor that could explain Apollo's presence is in the lower register of the same vase, where we find an erotic pursuit of maenads at the hands of satyrs. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 81 reads the connection between satyrs scenes and abduction scenes as belonging to the same sphere of male-female sexual relationships; satyrs represent its wildest aspect, weddings the most civilised one, and abductions are somewhere in between. Barringer 1995, 79 notes that many vases depicting the abduction of Thetis by Peleus bear on the reverse Dionysian scenes and suggests that this underlines the similarities between the two themes. In this case, the two registers would share the same erotic topic, but while on the lower register everything suggests a Dionysian context – satyrs, maenads, agitated figures running disorderly – on the upper register an Apollonian calm befalls the heroic world, the chariots and in particular the abducted girls. It should be noted that those other possibilities do not exclude or invalidate our first reading in any way.

traditional difference in status between the two goddesses, which we shall discuss in a following section.⁵⁸

The most peculiar aspect of the Spartan Leucippides worshipped in this temple is that their cult is not connected to the Dioscuri in any direct way. The only connection with the Dioscuri's family is the presence inside their temple of a massive, suspended egg; according to Pausanias, this is the egg that Leda laid after her intercourse with Zeus.⁵⁹ He does not explain whom the Spartans thought to be born from this egg, whether Helen, the Dioscuri, or all of them. Unfortunately, we cannot date the appearance of the egg inside the temple, nor the traditions concerning it. The version that narrates that Leda laid the egg from which Helen was born seems to make its appearance only with Euripides (*Helen* 256-259), but the birth of the Dioscuri is not necessarily connected to their sister's. While Nemesis can be Helen's mother, Leda is always the Dioscuri's mother.⁶⁰ As opposed to Helen, the Dioscuri can be born from an egg or not;⁶¹ in either case, their connection with eggs remains strong. In particular, they are often depicted in art and described in literature with a half-egg hat on their heads, called *pilos*, although this type of depiction seems to be quite late and foreign to the Spartan context.⁶² Broadly speaking, eggs can be used as chthonian symbols, thus referring to the chthonian nature of the Spartan Dioscuri.⁶³ Eggs are also the perfect symbol of the double condition of the Dioscuri; they appear dead and inert but host a new life inside, like the Dioscuri, who are dead and alive, mortal and immortal

⁵⁸ Cf. sections 2.7 and 2.9.

⁵⁹ Again, 3.16.1 (T18). The fact that the egg was laid by Leda is controvertial in itself; according to many ancient traditions, the famous egg was laid by Nemesis, and Leda only found or was given it (e.g. *Cypria* fr. 7 Davies, Eustathius to *Il.* 23.639 on the *Cypria*, Sappho fr. 166 Voigt, Cratin fr. 115 K.-A, Athenaeus 2.57). *Od.* 11.298-304 knows that Leda (and not Nemesis) was the mother of the Dioscuri but does not mention the egg. On the different versions of the myth, cf. Melis 2016, 130-132.

⁶⁰ The only possible exception is in *Cypria*, fr. 7, in which Helen's birth from Zeus and Nemesis is only the "third birth"; the other two who were born before her could be the Dioscuri, although the *Cypria* do not seem to consider the Dioscuri Nemesis' sons in any other passage, and only Polydeukes is Zeus' son. It has been supposed that the passage is corrupted or there is a *lacuna* (cf. Jouan 1966, 147). Apollodorus (3.10.7) knows both versions of Helen's birth, but the Dioscuri appear only in Leda's version.

⁶¹ As already mentioned, the egg does not appear in the *Odyssey*. In Plutarch, *Moralia* 637b, the Dioscuri are born from an egg fallen from the sky.

⁶² *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi, 71, 74, 90, 92; Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 506; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods*, 25; Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 506 and 511. Cf. Pipili 1987, 57; Hornblower 2015, 235.

⁶³ For instance, they figure among the offerings on the Laconian hero reliefs (cf. Salapata 1993, 190). As attributes of the Dioscuri, cf. *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi, 58-64.

at the same time.⁶⁴ To conclude, it seems more likely that this egg was connected to the Dioscuri's birth and not (or, at least, not only) to Helen's. Nevertheless, this connection remains implicit. The Dioscuri are recalled by the egg; however, they are not present but potentially, before their own birth, and are certainly not worshipped in this context.

To sum up, some peculiar traits of the Spartan Leucippides have begun to emerge in this section. In particular, we have indicated the first signs of the Leucippides' existence that transcend the episode of the abduction. They could be the divine or semi-divine daughters of Apollo and are worshipped in a temple specifically dedicated to them, with no direct connection to the Dioscuri.

2.5. *The priestesses: Apollo and Dionysus*

In the previous discussion of Pausanias' passage, we temporarily skirted his mention of the Leucippides priestesses. In fact, the Leucippides not only had a temple in Sparta, as we have just seen, but they were also assigned their board of priestesses, also called Leucippides.⁶⁵ Their exact number is uncertain; possibly, they were the two "fillies of the Leucippides" mentioned by Hesychius,⁶⁶ but the two *poloi* in question could have only been the leaders of the Leucippides priestesses, who would have been, instead, a larger group, numerous enough to form a choir. Pausanias attests their existence in the second century AD, but we do not know whether the priestesses were a relatively recent innovation or if they had existed for a long time, since there are no certain attestations before Pausanias. To be sure, the story of the embellishment of one of the statues by a priestess seems to suggest that the statues (and, therefore, the cult) were quite old, but whether the priestesses as Pausanias saw them were an equally old part of the cult cannot be ascertained by this passage. As we shall see, the existence of these

⁶⁴ Sforza 2007, 52-53.

⁶⁵ Pausanias 3.16.1 (T18). On the identification between divinity and cult attendant, cf. Connelly 2007, 2.

⁶⁶ *πωλία*: χαλκοῦν πῆγμα τι. φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰς τῶν Λευκιππίδων πόλους. δύο δὲ εἶναι παρθένους φασίν. "Polia: some sort of bronze structure. It carries the fillies of the Leucippides on it. It is said that they are two maidens." The meaning of φέρει is ambiguous; Farnell 1921, 230 translates it as "transports", but Bowra 1961, 53 as "has depicted on".

priestesses can be suggested in earlier sources but not proved incontrovertibly. Therefore, we shall start from the secure information from second-century AD Sparta contained in Pausanias' account and proceed to compare it with similar, but less univocal, evidence from earlier sources. This analysis aims to ascertain whether the information collected through comparisons of similar cases and the pursuit of earlier suggestions is compatible with Pausanias' narrative and could offer, as a consequence, a more complete picture of the priestesses and their early existence.

From Pausanias, we learn that this board of priestesses was not only responsible for the cult of the Leucippides. First, they were also connected to the cult of Dionysus; in particular, they were responsible for the cult of Dionysus Kolonatas, in Laconia, together with another group of priestesses called the Dionysiades.⁶⁷

ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἡ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα
ναός, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος, ὃν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Σπάρτην
Διονύσῳ φασι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα· τῷ δὲ ἥρῳι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ
θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιππίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἑνδεκα ἄς
καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμου προτιθέασιν
ἀγῶνα· δρᾶν δὲ οὕτω σφίσιν ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

Right opposite there is a place called Kolona and a sanctuary of Dionysus Kolonata, by which there is a precinct of the hero who is said to have led Dionysus to Sparta. The Dionysiades and the Leucippides offer sacrifices to this hero before the god. For the other eleven girls who are also called Dionysiades, they organise a footrace; this custom came to them from Delphi.

This other board of priestesses is even more mysterious than the Leucippides; in Pausanias, there are apparently two groups of Dionysiades, one directly concerned with the cult of Dionysus, and the other, formed by eleven girls, connected to a ritual running race. However, this distinction might be purely functional, and the Dionysiades and the Leucippides might have been two halves of the same group. Hesychius, for instance, only knows that the Dionysiades were a group of *parthenoi*, from Sparta, involved in a race connected to Dionysus.⁶⁸ This race was held close to the location of the mythological race of the suitors for Penelope's hand; nearby, there

⁶⁷ Pausanias 3.13.7 (T17). On religious associations of women participating in Dionysiac cults, cf. Lyons 1997, 115-119.

⁶⁸ Διονυσιάδες: ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρθένοι, αἱ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμεναι.

were also a sanctuary of Hera Hypercheiria and the statue of Aphrodite Hera, to which the mothers of brides paid homage.⁶⁹ These three locations all have a connection with marriage, which suggests that the Dyonisiades' race was a pre-nuptial rite.⁷⁰ Why these other priestesses and their functions are important to us will be clear in a moment.

Before that, we should at least mention the existence of a fragment of a dithyramb, attributed either to Simonides or to Bacchylides, entitled "Leucippides".⁷¹ Its opening lines give us the impression of a festival in honour of Aphrodite; nothing else is preserved. Therefore, the exact content of the composition is unclear; on a festive occasion, a chorus of girls is about to begin a Spartan song, with the Leucippides as its subject. Given the topic, a Spartan commission is most likely, and Bacchylides' work in Sparta is much better attested than Simonides'.⁷² Through a careful parallel with the other dithyramb commissioned from Bacchylides by the Spartans,⁷³ D'Alessio and Nobili suggest that we read this fragment in the same context, i.e. as a dithyramb performed by a chorus of girls (and therefore also a *partheneion*), during a festivity (perhaps connected to Dionysus, as it is common for dithyramb – they suggest – but not necessary, since such a connection is debated for Bacchylides and seems unlikely in most cases),⁷⁴ possibly with a nuptial topic or undertone (as would be expected from a song about the Leucippides and their abduction). No particular connection existed between the myth of the Leucippides and any Dionysiac festivity; however, their priestesses were involved in the cult of Dionysus, as mentioned above. If we accept that Bacchylides' dithyrambs usually bore

⁶⁹ Pausanias, 3.13.8-9.

⁷⁰ Pomeroy 2002, 118-119.

⁷¹ Fr. 61 Maehler (T6). Davison 1934 and Bowra 1961 promoted its attribution to Simonides; however, recent studies, such as Battezzato 2013, D'Alessio 2013, and Nobili 2013, convincingly support its attribution to Bacchylides.

⁷² D'Alessio 2013 and Nobili 2013.

⁷³ Dithyramb 20, *Idas, for the Lacedaemonians*. Only the first lines are preserved, but the setting is immediately clear; a chorus sings a song similar to the one performed by a chorus of Spartan maidens when Idas married Marpessa, after abducting her. The thematic and formal parallel with our dithyramb is evident. Cf. also D'Alessio 2013, 124-126. In parallel, Di Marzio 2006 suggests that also fragment 20A Maehler was part of a dithyramb of Bacchylides on the same topic for the same Spartan context. Fearn 2007, 226-234 argues for a male chorus, although there is no evidence in favour of such a reading, apart from the title, *Idas*, which seems to focus the attention on a male point of view, compared for instance to our fragment, *Leucippides*. While we cannot exclude that the focus was on the hero's deeds, it is unlikely that young men sang a nuptial song, "such as the song that *blonde maidens* sang once", when Idas brought home (i.e. married) Marpessa.

⁷⁴ On the absence of Dionysiac undertones in Bacchylides' dithyrambs cf. in particular Fearn 2007. Cf. also García Romero 2000.

no reference to Dionysus in the first place, the Dionysiac connection might be frailer than expected, but the parallel between Alcman's *Partheneion* (which we shall discuss in a later section) and this chorus of girls, singing a public song in Sparta and having the Leucippides and a rite of girls as their subject, is striking.

The explanation for Aphrodite's presence is less immediate. A celebration in her honour could be the background of the abduction of the Leucippides, for instance; while mythological abductions happen more frequently in Artemis' sanctuaries, a connection to Aphrodite is possible, too, as proven by many vase paintings.⁷⁵ The "narrating voice" of the chorus describes the joyous atmosphere of a rite, which – we imagine – is about to be interrupted by the abrupt arrival of the Dioscuri, who abduct two of the participating girls, the Leucippides. It is more unlikely that the celebration described was not a part of the myth, but the actual context of the performance, invoked by the chorus; in this case, the rite itself could also be dedicated to the goddesses-Leucippides or performed by the Leucippides priestesses.⁷⁶ In any case, Dionysus seems to be a god of the passage from παρθένοι to married women in Sparta, and Aphrodite naturally belongs to this same context.⁷⁷

Apollo was the main god of the Spartan pantheon, while no specific festival was held in Dionysus' honour.⁷⁸ It does not mean that Dionysus was entirely excluded from the city. A certain number of cultic locations are attested, at least by Pausanias,⁷⁹ and the importance of ritual dances in Sparta bears some similarities to Dionysiac rites,

⁷⁵ E.g. fig. 12.

⁷⁶ Di Marzio 2006, 210 suggests that the same chorus of the Leucippides also performed the song of fr. 20A, since a story of abduction followed by a wedding would naturally belong to the sphere of interest of the Leucippides. Nobili 2013, 37-38 suggests that Dithyramb 20 was also a nuptial song; if we follow this reasoning for our fragment, Aphrodite could be invoked here as the goddess of love on the occasion of a wedding, without undermining the Dionysiac context. However, D'Alessio 2013, 125 reasonably does not accept the possibility that an *epithalamion* for an individual wedding could have been performed in such a public fashion in fifth-century Sparta.

⁷⁷ Di Marzio 2006, 210-211 reads the cult of the Leucippides as a bridge between adolescence and adulthood through marriage, in a cult associated to Dionysus Kolonatas, god of adult womanhood. D'Alessio 2013, 128-132 effectively sums up this type of Spartan dithyramb as: "choral songs, arguably performed by young women, narrating and re-enacting mythical episodes relating to the transformation of the chorus of the παρθένοι into a group of married women. [...] One of the reasons these songs might have been perceived as dithyrambs is the role played by Dionysos in the ritual (*Leukippides*) and/or in the narrative content".

⁷⁸ Cf. Flower 2009, 207-208.

⁷⁹ Temple in Sparta (3.13.7 – T17), at Amyklai (3.19.6), at Bryseai (3.20.3). Cf. Parker 1988.

too.⁸⁰ Dionysus is often connected to Apollo in cultic practice (for example in Delphi); I suggest that the Leucippides priestesses might have been one element of connection between the two gods in Spartan religious practices.⁸¹ Other points of contact between the two gods' cults in Sparta are more difficult to find, but should not be excluded *a priori*. Richer, for instance, suggests that the rite of the *staphylodromoi* (grape-cluster runners) during the Karneia festival might have represented Dionysus' presence in the city, in opposition to Apollo's celebration during the Hyacinthia.⁸² We have seen the Leucippides' involvement with the Spartan Dionysus; we shall now analyse their connection to Apollo, and how this connection could suggest a deeper relationship between the two gods in question also in Laconia.

According to Pausanias, every year, the women of Sparta wove a tunic for Apollo of Amyklai in a specific space called Chiton (3.16.2 – T18). This tradition is attested only by Pausanias, so it is not possible to identify when it began. Pomeroy doubts that it was an Archaic practice (therefore coeval with the creation of the statue of Apollo), as statues of Apollo were usually nude in that period.⁸³ Nevertheless, the offering of garments (not to be draped over the statue) and ritual dressing of statues are well attested from post-Archaic sources but were probably common from an earlier date.⁸⁴

ὕφαινουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἔνθα ὑφαινοῦσι Χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν. οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται πλησίον· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασιν αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκτίσατο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ξένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐοικότες· ἦκειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φήσαντες καταχθηνᾶί τε

⁸⁰ Obviously, we must be careful with our assertions on the topic, because the descriptions of these dances are often filtered through the eyes of authors coming from other cities (e.g. Athens). We could also add the presence of many Dionysiac depictions on Laconian pottery from the sixth century BC onwards. In particular, they seem to suggest a popular identification of Dionysus with the King of the Underworld (Cf. Stibbe 1994, 75-76). In that case, it would not be strange at all that Dionysus was not a widely-venerated god in Laconia, since that is the normal situation of the gods of the Underworld. Hades himself was never honoured in a conventional temple.

⁸¹ Serwint 1993, 418 suggests that the ritual race of the Dionysiades was imported from Delphi but is unable to present any evidence for such a claim. If it were verifiable, it would offer another reason for the connection between the cult of Apollo and of Dionysus in the Spartan activity of the Leucippides and Dionysiades, as the two cults are strictly intertwined in Delphic practice.

⁸² Richer 2010, 247.

⁸³ Pomeroy 2002, 30.

⁸⁴ Romano 1988, 129. On ritual weaving, cf. Goff 2004, 52-53.

ἡξίουں παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκημα ἦτοῦντο ᾧ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἡνίκα μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν.

Every year, the women weave a chiton for Apollo of Amyklai, and the room (building?) in which they weave is called Chiton. Near it is built a house; it is said that, originally, the sons of Tyndareus inhabited it but, long after, the Spartan Phormion bought it. The Dioscuri came to him in the likeness of strangers; saying that they had arrived from Cyrene, they required to lodge with him and asked for the room that they liked the most at the time when they were among men.

Pausanias identifies the Chiton, quite unhelpfully, as a οἶκημα, which means both a room (also inside a temple) and a separate building. Modern translations have often been quite careless in using one meaning or the other. Its mention comes immediately after the description of the sanctuary of the Leucippides and before the story of the house of the Dioscuri. This position seems to suggest that we deal with a room still inside the sanctuary, before moving to an adjoining building; in the paragraph itself and in the following paragraph (3.16.3), Pausanias uses οἶκημα three times to describe a room inside a house, despite it not being the most common use of the word he makes in his work. However, in paragraph 3.16.4, his description moves “from the Chiton towards the gates”, and it seems less likely that a room would be used as a spatial reference point instead of a building. In the absence of material remains, the geographical situation is extremely controversial and could be explained in at least two major ways: the Chiton was either a room or a smaller building inside the sanctuary of the Leucippides and stood close enough to the entrance to be used as a reference instead of the entryway itself, or it was a separate building that stood immediately outside the sanctuary. The latter is certainly more economical, but Pausanias’ choice to use this specific building as a reference point instead of the certainly larger sanctuary of the Leucippides or of the house of the Dioscuri he had just finished discussing, despite all of them obviously standing near each other, seems peculiar. The former interpretation cannot be excluded *a priori*. If the Chiton stood inside the sanctuary, it would be another significant piece of evidence to reinforce the genealogical connection between Apollo and the Leucippides. If it did not, it still stood immediately outside it and in-between the sanctuary itself and the house of the Dioscuri, a house that was renowned, furthermore, for the abduction of a girl by the

Dioscuri themselves, like the Leucippides who were worshipped a short distance away. It seems clear that, whatever its specific position, the Chiton belonged to a “Dioscuri-themed” neighbourhood, since it is unreasonable to think that the Spartans had no other sacred space in the whole city that was suitable for this purpose. If the tunic was woven inside the sanctuary of the Leucippides, it is probable that the priestesses of the Leucippides took part in the weaving too, or that they were the ones to carry the tunic during the procession or to offer it to the god.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, even if the Chiton stood outside the sanctuary, it is not impossible that the priestesses of the daughters of Apollo, who dwelled next door, were involved in the ritual preparation of an offering to Apollo.

The function of the Leucippides priestesses is, in fact, highlighted by another festival – the Heraia at Olympia. Scanlon has made a convincing argument about the similarities between this festival and the rites of Dionysus Kolonatas, as far as female participation is concerned.⁸⁶ The most important event of the Heraia was a footrace for girls, supervised by a *collegium* of women from Elis called the Sixteen, who were also responsible for the weaving of a cultic tunic for the goddess. In Sparta, Dionysus was honoured by a footrace of the Dionysiades, organised by the Leucippides, who also, possibly, wove a tunic for Apollo. Spartan influence on the Heraia footrace seems likely, as Spartan female athleticism was renowned.⁸⁷ Broadly speaking, footraces were the only physical activity permitted to girls in most Greece, but competitiveness in running contexts seems to have been mostly limited to the local level and to the Peloponnese.⁸⁸ Also, the footrace at the Heraia, similarly to the Dionysiades’ race, has been linked to rites of passage for maidens before marriage.⁸⁹ Finally, the Leucippides priestesses could have been involved with female choruses (we shall come back to this point); also the Sixteen were responsible for arranging female choruses, one for

⁸⁵ Brulé 1987, 396 suggests a parallel with the Athenian *arrephors*. Hupfloher 2000, 89 believes that the Leucippides priestesses could not have been involved in the weaving, being *parthenoi*, while the text speaks of *gynaikes*. This observation, however, does not pose much of problem; the young Leucippides could have been assisted (or even taught) by a group of older women, or their participation could have been merely symbolic.

⁸⁶ Scanlon 1984.

⁸⁷ Cf. Pomeroy 2002, 12-27; Neils 2012. On Spartan races connected to puberty and on competitive races, cf. Pomeroy 2002, 24-25. On Spartan influence on the institution of the races at Elis, cf. Pomeroy 2002, 25-27.

⁸⁸ Serwint 1993, 404.

⁸⁹ Scanlon 1984, 87-89; Serwint 1993, 418.

Hippodameia and her wedding and another for Physkoa, a woman from Elis who was seduced by Dionysus and who founded, together with the son born from this union, the local cult of Dionysus.⁹⁰ It appears that also the Sixteen, like the Leucippides, had some connection with his cult.⁹¹ In conclusion, the similarity between the two sets of rites is astounding. In the Heraia, in fact, we find a female footrace, cultic weaving and initiatory rituals all belonging to the same cult and concerning the same *collegium*, the Sixteen; in Sparta, we find the same three elements, connected to a single group of priestesses (the Leucippides) but split into two different cults (Dionysus and Apollo).⁹² A fundamental difference should be noted, though. Both the Leucippides and the Dionysiades are identified as παρθένοι, while the Sixteen were married women, who only supervised the running παρθένοι.⁹³ However, the possible existence of two groups of Dionysiades and the comparison itself with the Sixteen women of Elis suggest that one group of Dionysiades (the runners) could have been παρθένοι involved in a pre-nuptial rite, while the supervising Dionysiades could have been a more mature group of γυναῖκες.⁹⁴

From these premises, it is clear that the Leucippides' priestesses played an articulated part in Spartan cults. On the one hand, they could have been connected to the cult of Apollo, both genealogically and, possibly, geographically. On the other hand, the Leucippides priestesses acted as organisers and overseers of the footrace of the Dionysiades, obviously in honour of Dionysus. At this point, it is imperative to stress how the cult of neither god (Apollo or Dionysus) was the Leucippides priestesses' intended responsibility, which was naturally the goddesses Leucippides. While the goddesses Leucippides, as we have seen, were probably Apollo's daughters, making their priestesses a natural choice for his cult, their connection with Dionysus is even slighter, despite it being the better attested. To be sure, it could have simply been a by-product of their bond with Apollo; those priestesses involved with Apollo were "lent" to the other cult to supervise it (as Apollo remains the primary god of

⁹⁰ Pausanias 5.16.6-7.

⁹¹ Serwint 1993, 419; Provenza 2010-2011, 100-115. Plutarch, *De mulierum virtutibus* 251e explicitly states that the Sixteen women from Elis dealt with the cult of Dionysus.

⁹² As suggested above, the two cults were probably connected.

⁹³ Pausanias 5.16.3.

⁹⁴ Provenza 2010-2011, 111. On Bacchic cults as cults of married women, cf. e.g. Lyons 1997, 112-115.

Sparta and his priestesses should be more important). However, our sources do not seem to have a clear and consistent idea of the distinction between Leucippides and Dionysiades, inviting us to suppose that the two names simply identified two parts of the same group of priestesses. If this group was initially responsible for both cults, it could have split at a later time into a lesser (possibly younger) group, who ran in honour of Dionysus, and another more prestigious group, who was responsible for the weaving for Apollo and the supervision of the other group.

2.6. *The Hyacinthia*

We shall now leave Dionysus aside for the moment and focus primarily on Apollo. The spatial connection between the sanctuary of the Leucippides and the Chiton, in which a tunic for Apollo of Amyklai was woven, and the fact that Apollo might have been the Leucippides' father, among other more general considerations that we shall discuss shortly, seem to suggest a possible involvement of the Leucippides in Apollo's Hyacinthia festival.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, much depends on the effective position and identification of the Chiton, which cannot be ascertained, so we are forced to move on uncertain ground. Nevertheless, I strive to propose with this an interpretative hypothesis that would integrate all the data and sources available and the hypotheses presented so far, it being understood that much of it remains in the domain of speculation and should be considered accordingly with great caution.

Obviously, a tunic woven for a god had to be presented to him during a grand ceremony, and the main procession that led from Sparta (possibly from the Chiton itself) to the temple of Apollo in Amyklai took place during the Hyacinthia.⁹⁶ In fact, the weaving of a cultic tunic (to be offered – we expect – to the statue on the throne of Amyklai) was probably one of the first preparations to be started, being such a time-consuming deed. The Hyacinthia was one of the three most important festivals in

⁹⁵ Similar points appear in Nobili 2014.

⁹⁶ Richer 2010, 239.

Sparta, all of which were dedicated to Apollo. It took its name from Hyacinthus, the young lover that Apollo killed by mistake, according to the myth.⁹⁷

As we have seen in the previous sections, the Leucippides, both as goddesses and priestesses, had a privileged connection with παρθένοι. In fact, both the Leucippides and Dionysiades priestesses are always referred to as παρθένοι, and it has been suggested that they were also implicated in initiatory rites for girls (such as the run of the Dionysiades).⁹⁸ If they were involved in the cult of Apollo of Amyklai at all (e.g. through the weaving of his cultic tunic), this would support, on one hand, the Leucippides' initiatory function (as such is Apollo's primary function in Spartan cults) and, on the other, their participation in the Hyacinthia festival.⁹⁹ However, we need first to explore the presence of *girls* in the Hyacinthia, to follow a trail leading up to the Leucippides.

The Hyacinthia involved the whole citizen body, including girls. According to Athenaeus, during the second day, there was a procession of παρθένοι, some transported on specially decorated chariots, others on race chariots.¹⁰⁰ The word used is κάνναθρα; the passage is a quotation from Polemon, commenting on Xenophon,¹⁰¹ who speaks about Agesilaus' daughter, who went to Amyklai ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ καννάθρου. Therefore, we can easily suppose that his daughter was among the girls who paraded on κάνναθρα, these richly decorated chariots, for the Hyacinthia festival. In this passage, Xenophon extols Agesilaus' frugality, so the attention is focused on the fact that the chariot was πολιτικός, which should be, therefore, understood as "public", possibly less expensive and showy than a private one.¹⁰² From this observation, we could suggest that there were differences among these chariots –

⁹⁷ We have a discreet amount of information on the Hyacinthia, but unfortunately most of it is quite late (cf. for instance Athenaeus 4.138e-140b). From archaeological evidence, we know that Amyklai had been the site of a cult and/or habitation since the Mycenaean Age; it seems likely that the god of Amyklai had been a pre-Indo-European Hyacinth, whose cult had been taken over by the Greek Apollo, but it is not necessary that the cult had been located in the same place without interruption since the Mycenaean Age. The cult as attested cannot be dated any further back than the sixth century BC; it consisted of a festival connected to a rite of passage, where the whole Spartan civic body assembled to reconfirm the social order and its peculiar values. Cf. Mellink 1943, Calligas 1992, Petterson 1992.

⁹⁸ Cf. also below for choruses of παρθένοι and initiatory rites.

⁹⁹ On the initiatory function of the festival, cf. also Vlizon 2009, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Athenaeus, 4.138. A recent overview of scholarship on the passage can be found in Almazova 2015.

¹⁰¹ εἰράσθω δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἔνδον κατασκευὴν, ἐννοησάτω δὲ ὡς ἐθοίναζεν ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἀκουσάτω δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ καννάθρου κατῆι εἰς Ἀμύκλας <ἢ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ> (Xenophon, *Agesilaus* 8.7).

¹⁰² Mellink 1943, 16.

something that is not explicitly said anywhere else; behind these parading girls, we should always expect to see the social status of their families.

It is not clear whether there was a distinction between the girls who would ride on *κάνναθρα* and the ones who had racing chariots, nor whether the whole procession was reserved for the most prominent girls only;¹⁰³ the two types of chariots could also refer to two different moments of the procession.¹⁰⁴ Some scholars read the mention of “race chariots” in Athenaeus as proof of competitive racing, but from the information we have on the topic, it seems more likely that the girls did not race, but were merely transported by racing chariots during a procession (similarly to the Leucippides during their abduction)¹⁰⁵. In any case, the Hyacinthia, like all festivals of Spartan Apollo, were probably tied to the end of the initiatory period of the city’s new generation. Therefore, the procession of girls on chariots going from Sparta to Amyklai might have been a form of official introduction to the *polis* of the new female citizens who had completed their initiation, according to Calame.¹⁰⁶ However, the verb used in our quotation is *κατήει*, an imperfect tense, making us wonder if it implied a repetitive action; in our passage, it is listed together with *ἐθοίναζεν*, which clearly describes a

¹⁰³ Calame 1977a, 307.

¹⁰⁴ Mellink 1943, 16, who mainly follows Bölte’s idea (1929).

¹⁰⁵ Larson 2007, 91; Flower 2009, 208. Calame 1977, 306 and Pomeroy 2002, 20 believe that races took place during the procession. Neils 2012, 158-161 suggests that the fame of these female charioteers reached Athens, where they were depicted in middle-race on a red-figure kalyx (J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.297). Naturally, this is not a Spartan source and cannot even be identified with certainty; it cannot prove that there were chariot races during the Hyacinthia but, if it really depicts the Hyacinthia, it might suggest that the existence of these female charioteers (whether they raced or simply paraded) was renowned in Athens, attracted the attention of a wide public and stimulated their imagination, as most information concerning Spartan women was bound to do (e.g. their rumored attractiveness, athleticism and sexual disinhibition). Mylonopoulos 2011, 167 suggested that the girls did take part in a procession on chariots (not a race), but were accompanied by riders, in what “resembled a wedding procession, thus alluding to their future role as wives”. It is true that the girls parading from Sparta to Amyklai were young, unmarried women, since they are always referred to as *παρθέναι*, possibly at the end of their initiation and ready for marriage, but such a connection is not necessary. A wedding procession would see just one bride; secondly, to evoke a marriage we would need a groom, too; also, the presence of a charioteer driving the wedding chariot implies a punctual parallel between Athenian and Spartan weddings, which is not demonstrable; finally, we know for sure that – at least from a certain chronological point – Spartan weddings involved a ritual abduction, of which chariots were only one element, but we cannot find any trace of it in this procession.

¹⁰⁶ Calame 1991, 475-476. However, whether *these* girls, who took part in a ritual initiation, amounted to *all* the girls of their age in the city or if they were only a small, chosen part of them – who symbolically underwent these rites instead of the whole community – remains unclear (e.g. Brelich 1969, 162-166). To be sure, the presence of choruses suggests a limited, more manageable number of girls involved; however, if the girls involved were not the whole community of unmarried girls, but only the ones who were to reach maturity every year, the resulting number would still be appropriate to form a reasonable number of choruses.

repetitive action, i.e. how Agesilaus would banquet or entertain his guests during sacrifices (clearly a regular occurrence). Therefore, it seems that Agesilaus' daughter took part in this procession more than once. This reading would naturally weaken the idea that the procession was the official introduction to the city of the "new adult women"; however, the function of the parade as an introduction to the *polis* can be easily maintained with a small adaptation. It is possible, in fact, that the girls were not simply introduced once and for all as adults and new citizens, but paraded every year as available, potential brides, until they got married. This hypothesis, although not univocally demonstrable, would explain the purpose of this procession of παρθέναι well, while fitting perfectly in the wider discussion we have undertaken.

Aside from their participation in the chariots' parade, it is possible that Spartan girls played an active role also in other moments of the festival;¹⁰⁷ for instance, many terracotta female figurines were found at Amyklai, as were a bronze statuette of a naked woman playing the cymbals (sixth century BC), a stele representing a group of girls dancing and playing instruments (third century BC) and a great number of female dedications such as earrings, clay loom weights and spindle whorls.¹⁰⁸ Alas, we cannot be entirely sure but, generally speaking, Spartan festivals were widely renowned for focusing on choral performances and in particular choral competitions.¹⁰⁹ They also involved both women and men, since the festivals represented a collective moment for the whole community to get together and strengthen their social and cultural bonds.¹¹⁰

Two decrees from the second century AD found at Amyklai confirm that, by then, a girl was chosen every year as ἀρχή and θεωρός of the Hyacinthia, meaning that she led the procession and had supervisory functions over the whole festival.¹¹¹ The oversight responsibilities are particularly interesting; it is significant that a woman held such an important role in a festival for the entire community, both for women and

¹⁰⁷ Calame 1977a, 305-323 collects all the evidence concerning the participation of girls in the Hyacinthia and concludes that they were involved in specific rites and, in particular, the Leucippides' priestesses were likely to occupy a prominent position. The list of elements he drew up has been used as a starting point for the following considerations.

¹⁰⁸ On the topic, cf. bibliography in Calame 1977a; Vlizos 2009, 14; Nobili 2014, 137-138.

¹⁰⁹ Sparta was famous for dancing performances; *parthenoi* dances were typical of the cult of Artemis, but the cult of Apollo is often similar and strictly connected to his sister's. Apollo and Artemis were two of the main divinities of Sparta. Cf. Constantinidou 1998, 15-16; Nobili 2014, 135.

¹¹⁰ This idea is widely accepted by scholars; just to mention the most recent studies, cf. Constantinidou 1998, 16; Flower 2009, 207-208.

¹¹¹ *IG* V.1.586 and 587.

men. The role of ἀρχή (leader of the chariot procession) should naturally belong to the most eminent of the girls taking part in the procession itself. The role of θεωρός (supervisor) is more complex and implies more responsibilities; while it could still belong to girls coming from the noblest families, it also reminds us of the supervisory role of the Sixteen women from Elis (who were married women), and therefore of their connection to the Leucippides and the Dionysiades.¹¹² To be sure, these elements do not automatically exclude each other; depending on the number of the Leucippides priestesses and the length of their mandate (both of which are uncertain), every year one of them could be chosen for this additional responsibility, perhaps the most eminent of the girls available. That said, we should not forget that sources referring to Roman Sparta should not be mechanically applied to earlier periods, as they could have been engendered by later idealisation.

As we have already suggested in more than one case, and we shall see again in the next section, the Leucippides could have had some relation to female choruses. During the Hyacinthia, we do expect some cultic dances to take place. The evidence for these choruses is scattered, but quite voluminous, and much of it seems to imply the presence of the Leucippides. For starters, the chorus in Euripides' *Helen* and Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* both mention ritual dances of Spartan girls.¹¹³ In the first case, the Leucippides themselves lead the dances by the river Eurotas at the time of the Hyacinthia.¹¹⁴ We must consider that the passage is a poetic rendition taking place in a mythical past, not a historical account, and both the poet and his audience were

¹¹² Spawforth 1992, 233, for instance, believes that the two prestigious titles were reserved for matrons and were not of great antiquity. Pomeroy 2002, 120-121 notes that presiding over festivals in which men competed was a great honour granted to elite women of the imperial period.

¹¹³ Euripides, *Helen* 1465-1470; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 1297-1320. On the topic, cf. also section 4.2.2. Mylonopoulos 2011, 166 seems to be quite sceptical about the presence of female choruses; only choruses of men are mentioned in the sources considered. It seems that some type of contest made its appearance at a later moment of the long history of this festival; perhaps we can suppose that some of those were competitions of female choruses. However, Mylonopoulos does not specify when exactly this innovation would have happened, before or after the end of the fifth century BC (in parallel with our Athenian sources). We have no traces of female choruses in contemporary sources, but much information could be extrapolated from parallels: for example, the general importance of choruses in all other Spartan festivals, the importance of women in this particular festival, the attested existence of female choruses in Sparta.

¹¹⁴ Their role as chorus leaders is not made explicit; however, the fact that they stand out among the other girls partaking in the ritual (as they are the only girls identified by their name), their status as mythological heroines and their mythological identity as maidens all seem to suggest their leading position. The parallel with Aristophanes is meaningful; the context is similar, and Helen is clearly identified as the chorus leader.

Athenians, not Spartans, so that their knowledge of Spartan customs might have been, at least partially, filtered by stereotypes and expectations.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, the close fit between Euripides' picture of the Hyacinthia and some points we have discussed so far is striking. In Aristophanes, we find κόραι dancing as πῶλοι by the Eurotas, led by Helen.¹¹⁶ Fillies or mares are common Greek metaphors to define young unmarried girls, not yet "tamed" by marriage.¹¹⁷ Moreover, we cannot avoid mentioning again that the Leucippides' priestesses were commonly called πῶλοι, too.¹¹⁸ The name itself "Leucippides" could be translated as "White Horse Girls (or Daughters)". The connection between the Eurotas and the Hyacinthia festival is made explicit only in Euripides but can be imagined for Aristophanes too, since Amyklai was indeed along the Eurotas' banks. Obviously, we should not forget that both sources are Athenian, and therefore cannot be considered a perfect mirror of Spartan practices; nonetheless, it seems significant that both authors imagine such specular contexts for choruses of Spartan girls.¹¹⁹ In particular, it should strike us that there is such a clear parallel between the Leucippides leading dances of girls (as implied by their preeminent role, being singled out of the chorus), later joined by Helen, in one case, and Helen leading dances of girls as πῶλοι in the other. The role played by Helen and the Leucippides in the two passages is clearly the same; if we consider that the Leucippides are secondary characters of myth, especially from an Athenian point of view, it is hard to imagine

¹¹⁵ We shall come back to the topic in section 4.2.2.

¹¹⁶ Constantinidou 1998, 17-20 notes some similarities between Aristophanes' description and Dionysiac rites, although he might be stressing certain elements and their Dionysiac connotations for his Athenian audience, in a moment of great expansion of such a cult in his city. Nevertheless, Constantinidou 1998, 21-23 finds some traces of Spartan maenads in Alcman, in the Dionysiades, in the Caryae festival and in the *Dymainai* (Hesychius: αἱ ἐν Σπάρτῃ χορίτιδες Βάκχαι). We have already dealt in the previous sections with Dionysus in Sparta and the way in which an important part of his cult is connected to the Leucippides.

¹¹⁷ E.g. Anacreon fr. 417 P.

¹¹⁸ Hesychius, s.v. πωλία. Henderson 1987, 221 sees here a clear reference to the Leucippides, but also connects this definition to "famous" theriomorphic maiden-dances of Sparta, which are not widely attested.

¹¹⁹ Recent studies, such as Battezzato 2013 and D'Alessio 2013, have convincingly proved the importance of female choruses in Sparta, in particular in the shape of dithyrambs, and as part of rituals for Dionysus and possibly Demeter; also, they expect the Athenians to be familiar enough with some peculiarities of Spartan cult. Therefore, Helen's dance "is the mythical model of the actual cult performed by the contemporaries of Euripides" (Battezzato 2013, 109).

that the privileged role they play in Euripides could have been entirely invented, without any knowledge of what happened during the Hyacinthia in Sparta.¹²⁰

To be more specific, it is also possible that these choral dances took place during the night. Our primary source is again Euripides' *Helen*, which sets the dances led by the Leucippides during the *night-time* revelries of the Hyacinthia. It is also interesting to notice Euripides' use of *χοροῖς ἢ κῶμοις* to describe these activities.¹²¹ We have already mentioned the importance of choruses in Spartan public occasions.¹²² On the other hand, the idea of *κῶμος* is hard to reconnect to the orderly and solemn procession of girls on chariots we mentioned above, but would accurately describe a moment of joyful dances and songs, such as what happened during the second and third days of the Hyacinthia, which were dedicated to Apollo, after the mourning for Hyacinth's death.¹²³ The word *κῶμος* can be used specifically for Dionysiac festivals, and Dionysiac festivals were typically held at night; the Leucippides priestesses, as already mentioned, were connected to the cult of Dionysus.¹²⁴ Dionysus was also one of the principal divinities in Amyklai and was known with the epithet "Psilax", of unclear meaning, but certainly connected to choruses;¹²⁵ the cymbals, played by the statuette listed above, are a typical Dionysiac instrument;¹²⁶ finally, the passage from Aristophanes presents the chorus of girls led by Helen as performing a bacchic dance.

More generally, night-time rituals reserved for girls were not uncommon in Sparta; we only need to mention the ritual described in Alcman's Louvre *Partheneion*,

¹²⁰ We will come back to this point in a moment: how much could the Athenians know about the Spartan Leucippides and their cultic functions? Cf. section 4.2.2.

¹²¹ Typically, a *κῶμος* is a procession of inebriated people, full of music and dancing and licentious behaviour; it does not seem to be unequivocally and exclusively connected to Dionysus, but its own nature suggests it. Demosthenes, for example, mentions a *κῶμος* during the Dionysiae (21.10). Its original meaning is generically connected to a group of people singing, dancing and having fun, for example going to or coming from a symposium. Finally, Dionysus is often represented together with a group of followers: satyrs and maenads, mostly, dancing and playing instruments. This procession is conventionally referred to as *κῶμος*.

¹²² On female choruses in Sparta, cf. also Goff 2004, 116-118.

¹²³ In addition, it would also reflect what an Athenian audience would actually expect from a nocturnal celebration only for women, i.e. some Bacchic madness.

¹²⁴ In particular, footraces are typical of initiatory rites, and, as noted by Nobili 2014, 139, the whole area of the temple of Dionysus was reserved to cults specific to young women: a temple of Argive Hera, a statue of Aphrodite, a temple of Aphrodite and Morpho (concerned with the faithfulness of wives), and finally the sanctuary of the Leucippides. The initiatory function for girls of this cult of Dionysus would find a parallel in the Hyacinthia. On ritual races linked to female maturation rituals in Sparta, cf. Kennell 2013, 388.

¹²⁵ Pausanias 3.19.6. Cf. Nobili 2014, 140.

¹²⁶ Nobili 2014, 138.

for instance. Plutarch, for example, mentions that during a *πάνδημος ἑορτή* (a festival of the whole community, for women, young girls, slaves and children, too) there was a nocturnal ritual banquet for women.¹²⁷ He does not explicitly mention the Hyacinthia, but this festival is the most likely solution since our sources often stress the collective nature of the Hyacinthia above any other festival. The Hyacinthia were still a great and well-known event in Plutarch's contemporary Sparta; therefore, his readers probably knew during which festival this particular banquet happened. Obviously, what mattered, in this case, was the episode, not its settings; however, it is a source that we cannot lightly discard.¹²⁸

To conclude, it can be convincingly suggested that girls played an important part in the Hyacinthia, and almost certainly took an active role by dancing in choruses during the night, in addition to the chariots' procession that took place during the first day. It is possible to suggest that the Leucippides priestesses were connected to many instances of the celebration: first, the tunic woven inside or next to their temple must have been offered to Apollo in Amyklai during a solemn occasion, like the Hyacinthia; secondly, some girls could have been distinguished during the chariot procession, and some of them had leading and supervising responsibilities; the initiatic undertones of the girls' procession themselves remind us of the Leucippides and their abduction; choruses were probably present in the Hyacinthia, and the Leucippides were perceived as ideal chorus-leaders; in particular, they had every reason to lead choruses during the night, as attested by literary sources and confirmed by their special relation with Dionysus (as Bacchic dances and revelries mostly happened at night). We have already suggested an underlying connection between the Spartan cults of Apollo and Dionysus through the Leucippides priestesses, their counterparts the Dionysiades, and the choruses of girls they probably led; this last point seems to reinforce this bond also

¹²⁷ Plutarch, *Moralia*, 775d-e.

¹²⁸ Mellink 1943, 20-21 suggests that similar reasoning can also apply for Saint Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, 1.41. The author recalls a famous episode of the Second Messenian War, when the Messenian king Aristomenes abducted fifteen Spartan girls while they took part in a nocturnal choral rite during the Hyacinthia; other sources (such as Pausanias 4.4.2 and 4.16.9-10, possibly referring to two separate but parallel episodes) agree in attributing the episode to the Caryae festival, not the Hyacinthia. Mellink proposes to read Jerome's mistake as due to a confusion between nocturnal rituals that happened in both festivals; this is possible, but we must also consider that Jerome's mistake could have depended on a genuine confusion between Spartan festivals already meaningless to the Christian scholar.

inside the Amyklaian cult, dedicated to Apollo, but interspersed with Dionysian suggestions.¹²⁹

2.7. *Alcman*

In a previous section, we anticipated a controversial question. The only certain information we have on the Leucippides priestesses comes from the imperial age; we have suggested their presence in older sources, such as Euripides' *Helen*. Is it possible to find any older traces of their existence? We shall now discuss the famous Louvre *Partheneion* of Alcman (fr. 1 – T1) and some fragments of a commentary to Alcman, and make some hypotheses on the early cult and myth of the Leucippides in Sparta. While many of the points we shall make, especially in relation to the *Partheneion*, are highly speculative, they offer some suggestive cues on the connection between the Leucippides and choruses at which we have hinted throughout the previous sections.

The text of the *Partheneion* is extremely controversial, despite the papyrus being quite well preserved. Many theories exist on the content of the first missing part (the myth), on the identity of the two mentioned girls and of the choir, on the context in which the song takes place, on the actions carried out, and on the nature of the elusive goddess Aotis, to whom the poem is dedicated. Since Polydeukes is the first readable word of the text, many scholars have supposed a connection between the *Partheneion* and the Leucippides. In particular, this question renewed the older debate concerning their cult, since some scholars think that Aotis might be the Leucippid Phoibe, or that the two mentioned girls who lead the ritual might be the Leucippides' priestesses.

The beginning of the *Partheneion* is severely damaged. Only a few words can be recognised with a degree of certainty. Nonetheless, they are useful in orienting our research. In the first preserved line, we recognise the name of Polydeukes; a list of names, all compatible with Apollodorus' list of the Hippocoontids, follows immediately;¹³⁰ then, we find a *gnome*, advising men against trying to reach the sky or

¹²⁹ D'Alessio 2013, 123 cautiously suggests a possible connection between Apollo and Dionysus also during the Karneia festival, as attested for Taras.

¹³⁰ Interestingly, Henrichs 1987, 254 suggests that the late lists of Hippocoontids were born from the "conflation of at least two separate traditions: a local Spartan catalogue of the Hippokoontids which is

desiring Aphrodite, a daughter of Phorcus,¹³¹ or one of the Charites, daughters of Zeus. The following part seems to have a mythical topic again, but it is not clear whether the poet here gives more details of the preceding myth, or if he starts a new one, to comment on the same moral teaching. Fate is mentioned, with fallen youths, one of whom is possibly killed by an arrow, another by a stone. They descend to Hades, where they suffer what they deserve for their evil deeds.

This episode has been identified since the 1960s as a secondary or local version of the abduction of the Leucippides, an interpretation that is still convincing and that we shall adopt and strive to support in the following discussion.¹³² The main problem, however, concerns the unity of the mythological episode; many scholars have tried to separate the Dioscuri episode from the *gnome* by inserting another myth. Wilson, for instance, proposed to identify a first myth concerning an otherwise unattested fight between the Dioscuri and the Hippocoontids (probably for amorous reasons), and a second one, concerning the myths of Otos and Orion.¹³³ Pavese instead recognised three different myths: “Polydeukes” at the beginning of the fragment as part of a lost myth, impossible to identify; a catalogue of the Hippocoontids, killed by Herakles; a Gigantomachy.¹³⁴ Gengler suggested a first myth dealing with both the Dioscuri and the Hippocoontids, and a second one, describing the abduction of the Leucippides and the ensuing fight against the Apharetidae.¹³⁵ More recently, Ferrari has identified the

still available in Alcman’s *Partheneion*, and another more ‘Panhellenic’ catalogue which may have been derived from genealogical poetry of the Hesiodic type”. This interpretation suits our reading perfectly; the Spartan catalogue was connected to the abduction episode, while the Panhellenic catalogue to the Herakles episode.

¹³¹ Not much is known about this character. Phorcus is one of the many shape-shifting creatures, such as Proteus and Nereus, who populated the Greek seas, and who, with time, overlapped and got confused with each other. Possibly, *this* Phorcus could be the same as Nereus, and therefore one of his daughters would be a Nereid, a minor goddess. According to Nobili 2009, 183-184, these metamorphic gods had a special connection with the Southern Peloponnese and its Underworld cults; fights with one of these beings traditionally belonged to the Peloponnesian epic tradition and Herakles’ cycle, and through these models then were imported into the *Odyssey* (Menelaus against Proteus). Therefore, we can justify the presence of this god in a Spartan song, commenting on a Spartan myth.

¹³² Garvie 1965; Calame 1977; Clay 1991; Robbins 1994. On Alcman’s preference for local myths and cults, in relation to both an internal and an external audience, cf. Carey 2011, 441-443.

¹³³ Wilson 1912, 59. The identification of the second myth lies on weak premises.

¹³⁴ Pavese 1992. This reading struggles to integrate the Dioscuri into the picture and introduces another myth of difficult identification; while some elements are indeed compatible with a Gigantomachy and the overtone of punished hybris fits well in the context, the erotic undertone of the *gnome* is mostly lost.

¹³⁵ Gengler 1995 reads side by side the scarce traces of the myth at the beginning of the *Partheneion* and Pindar’s *Nemean* 10, looking for textual references to prove that Alcman was Pindar’s model for the story of the fight between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae. The only difference, in his opinion, would be that Alcman told the version of the fight concerning the Leucippides’ abduction, which

first myth as the political struggle between Hippocoon and his sons on one side and Herakles, Tyndareus and his sons (the Dioscuri) on the other; consequently, she read the second part as the myth of Phaethon, as a parallel story of punished, illegitimate aspirations.¹³⁶ This last identification is extremely weak; in fact, neither myth shows a clear connection to the erotic *gnome* of our fragment. Consequently, Ferrari was forced to adopt a version of Phaethon's myth only attested by a fragmentary tragedy of Euripides (the exact content of which is still under debate), in which Aphrodite desired to marry a reluctant Phaethon.¹³⁷ In any case, it seems unlikely that an otherwise unknown myth of the Athenian theatre originated in seventh-century Sparta and then disappeared without a trace.¹³⁸

All the previous interpretations have left many questions unanswered and cannot be considered completely convincing. Therefore, we shall return to our first hypothesis: the presence of a single episode, narrating a local and older version of the abduction of the Leucippides.¹³⁹ The Hippocoontids were rivals of the Dioscuri (hence Polydeukes' presence) for the hand of some girls (probably the Leucippides) and were defeated by them. This reading would connect the Hippocoontids with the *gnome* in vv. 16-17; "do not try to marry Aphrodite" could be read as "do not desire girls who are out of your league". The Hippocoontids would have had the audacity of competing for the same girls (perhaps abducting them) as the Dioscuri, who are sons of Zeus and

Gengler considers more appropriate for a *partheneion*, while Pindar narrated the aftermath of the cattle-raiding episode. This reading follows, at least in part, Bergk 1865. It is not clear what the connection between the two episodes could have been, however; in particular, as seen in the first chapter, it seems unlikely that the connection between the abduction episode and the Apharetidae episode could have appeared so early.

¹³⁶ Ferrari 2008. As Hippocoon was an illegitimate aspiring king, so Phaethon was an illegitimate aspiring god (pp. 64-67, 108-109).

¹³⁷ Ferrari 2008, 53-67. Naturally, we have no way to verify the full content of the tragedy in question, nor can we know if the variant was a Euripidean invention, a Panhellenic tradition, or reflected a local cult. Nevertheless, it seems clear that Phaethon *did not* want to marry Aphrodite, so the *gnome* cannot be addressed to him.

¹³⁸ Both myths proposed by Ferrari show a strong political connotation, which seems hardly appropriate for a *partheneion*, and in particular for an erotic *gnome*. In other words, if the connection between the two opening myths was political (i.e. punished illegitimacy), there was no need to expand the second myth in the direction of an erotic act of *hybris* such as declining Aphrodite's love.

¹³⁹ On the importance of local myth and cult in Alcman, in relation to Panhellenic ones, cf. Carey 2011. Interestingly, Dale 2011, 25 argues that there is only one episode and the story cannot be but "an erotic rivalry between the Tyndaridae and Hippocoontidae over a goddess or goddesses", but only relegates the identification of the goddesses with the Leucippides to a note. However, it is not immediately clear to whom else the story could refer.

possibly share their father's divine nature.¹⁴⁰ Also, the girls could be daughters of Apollo and goddesses themselves, thus making the human Hippocoontids' *hybris* ever more prominent. Only then could we make sense of the opposition between χάρις and ἄλκα implied by the *gnome* as referring to the same episode; the Hippocoontids would have used violence to abduct the girls and were punished for this, while the Dioscuri obtained them legitimately or even saved them from the abduction (use of χάρις). Unfortunately, this version is only attested by a late source, Clement of Alexandria.¹⁴¹ According to the scholiast, Euphorion told the story of the Hippocoontids, rivals in love of the Dioscuri; however, Alcman, in his first book, mentioned them, too.¹⁴² The *scholion* does not explicitly state that the Hippocoontids were rivals of the Dioscuri also in Alcman, but the symmetrical structure of the two statements (μέμνηται καὶ X ἐν Y) and the presence of the object of μέμνηται only in the second sentence make a strong case for the identification of the rivals-type Hippocoontids in Alcman too.¹⁴³

Taking this reading a step further, the goddess Aotis, to whom the *Partheneion* is dedicated, could, in fact, be the Leucippid Phoibe, identified as the Dawn.¹⁴⁴ In this

¹⁴⁰ Davison 1968, 150-153 recognises two separate episodes: the fight between Herakles and the Hippocoontids and a Gigantomachy. However, he suggests that Herakles did not play such an important part in the first one, but this version of the fight was superimposed on an older version, in which the Hippocoontids were rivals in love of the Dioscuri, i.e. the reading here adopted.

¹⁴¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 2.36.2 (T25). Plutarch, *Theseus* 31.1 knows of a version in which Enasphoros, one of the Hippocoontids, intended to abduct Helen, and Tyndareus entrusted the girl to Theseus to save her; in this case, Enasphoros would have taken Theseus' place as (potential) abductor and enemy of the girl's brothers, the Dioscuri. From this example, we see that mythological variants in which the Dioscuri and the Hippocoontids were hostile to each other existed, and this hostility could have been connected to abductions. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Dioscuri could not have been rivals of the Hippocoontids for Helen, so Plutarch's episode must be different from Clement's.

¹⁴² Calame 1987, 172 suggests a compromise reading of the fragment: the Hippocoontids are indeed rivals in love of the Dioscuri, but they are also pretenders to the Spartan throne that their father usurped from Tyndareus, the Dioscuri's father. Therefore, the fight mentioned in the *Partheneion* should be at the same time a fight for some abducted girls and the more famous fight between the Hippocoontids and Heracles for the throne of Sparta.

¹⁴³ It is curious how Hutchinson 2001, 79-80 mentions this same scholion but claims that it does not consider Alcman, which in fact the scholion does. He also denounces the amorous reason of the fight as unlikely for "a version where both Herakles and the Dioscuri took part", forgetting that there is nothing to prove for certain Herakles' presence. In similar fashion, Ferrari 2008, 22 and 29 admits the existence and legitimacy of this possibility, but deliberately ignores it on the basis that there are "too many Hippocoontids to the two Tyndarids" for an amorous rivalry. However, we do not know how many girls were contested, and it is not necessary that *all* the Hippocoontids took part in the fight for a wife, but they might all have supported the claims of one or two of them.

¹⁴⁴ Garvie 1965; Robbins 1994. Dale 2011, 32 finds it an attractive hypothesis, but the lack of any attested association between the Leucippides and a Dawn goddess makes him cautious. Silveira Cyrino 2004 considers this possibility, too, but excludes it as unlikely, as there is not enough proof of female choruses linked to the Leucippides. Davison 1968, 165-166 timidly suggested Artemis Orthia as Aotis,

case, the myth could tell the story of how the Hippocoontids tried to obtain her, but the Dioscuri warded them off because Polydeukes was her legitimate betrothed.¹⁴⁵ The connection between the Dawn and Phoibe might have been caused by the cultic association of the Indo-European Divine Twins (the Dioscuri) and the Dawn herself, or the identification between a solar god Apollo and the father of the Leucippides; also, the name Phoibe – as female of Phoibos – would be appropriate of a Dawn goddess.¹⁴⁶ We shall see in the following section that the Leucippides could have existed separately from each other. Agido and Hagesichora, the girls who lead the performance, are not put on a par with each other, according to the chorus;¹⁴⁷ it is possible that the two Leucippides were not equal either, as just said. If the two girls were the priestesses of the Leucippides, the original difference between their goddesses could reflect on them. Thus, one girl could have symbolised the Dawn-goddess they all were celebrating, while the other played a subordinate part, but still preeminent among the girls who made up the chorus.¹⁴⁸ However, this is a slim possibility and should remain in the realm of pure speculation, for the moment.

The second question arising from the text and dealing with the Leucippides concerns the rite described in the lines that follow the myth; the exact nature of the rite is unclear, and also in this case the debate is still ongoing. Our main concern here is whether we can convincingly support the presence of the Leucippides' priestesses in the rite. Among the few clear points, we shall mention that it seems to involve the offer

but admits that there are no attested connections between the Dioscuri and her, although he has been followed by other scholars recently (e.g. Priestley 2007). Calame 1977b proposes its identification as a ceremony in honour of Dionysus and Helen, who is to be identified as Aotis. This goddess is also addressed as *Orthria*, an otherwise unknown epithet; the main emendation has long been *Orthia*, but it should be refuted for metrical reasons and also as *lectio faciliior*.

¹⁴⁵ Robbins 1994.

¹⁴⁶ As already mentioned, it is likely that the Leucippides were daughters of Apollo as far back as the *Cypria*; unfortunately, the solar connotations of Apollo are scarcely attested before the fifth century. The first attestation is in a fragment by Euripides (*Phaethon* 225).

¹⁴⁷ Dale 2011, 26 reads, instead, the two girls as being on the same level, superior to the chorus and everyone else.

¹⁴⁸ This reading, just like all others proposed so far on the topic, suffers from the limitation of not having any clear way to explain the name *Orthria*, which would be a cultic title of unknown origin, referring to a non-identified Dawn goddess. Interestingly, Ferrari 2008, 92-93, while describing a completely different theory, proposes to identify Agido as the Dawn and Hagesichora as the Moon, where the former is the welcome goddess who puts an end to the chorus' nightly struggle, while the latter is the helpful cousin of the chorus during their nocturnal tolls. While this symbolic separation between the functions of the two leaders is interesting, Ferrari seems to place more importance on Agido, while the chorus clearly states that Hagesichora is superior to her.

of a φάρος to the goddess; a scholiast explains it as “plough”, which would suggest a fertility rite, but the meaning is not otherwise attested and could very well amount to a mistake of the scholiast.¹⁴⁹ A φάρος is usually a mantle or a veil, the offer of which to a goddess is certainly more conventional.¹⁵⁰ Secondly, we know that two girls, Agido and Hagesichora, led the rite; their speaking names (both deriving from the idea of “leading”) suggest that those were titles, possibly bound to the performance. They could be the priestesses of the Leucippides if there were only two of them, or the Leucippides’ priestesses could make up the whole choir, and the two leaders would then be the so-called πῶλοι (foals) of the Leucippides.¹⁵¹ Both solutions are viable since we do not know the exact number of the priestesses. The female chorus, the erotic undertone, the idea of a challenge between choruses or within the chorus, the night-time, and the public venue all suggest the involvement of the Leucippides as chorus leaders.¹⁵² The rite itself has never been identified, but it seems to be a female initiatory rite, which would be a natural setting for the Leucippides’ priestesses;¹⁵³ this does not exclude its presence in other larger festivals.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Priestley 2007, 176-180, 189-190. Its nature as *lectio difficilior* is the only real support for this reading. Only Ferrari 2008, 84 adopts it without question.

¹⁵⁰ It might be significant that the Leucippides’ priestesses were involved in the sewing of a tunic for the statue of Apollo of Amyklai inside the temple of the Leucippides itself.

¹⁵¹ Bowra 1934 and 1961. Following Bowra, cf. also Garvie 1965 and Calame 1977b.

¹⁵² Priestley 2007, 192 understands the “competition against the Pleiades” as a run against the clock; the two girls “must run as swiftly as the fastest of horses so as to ‘beat’ the Pleiades by completing the rituals before dawn”. Whether this implied a real run or not, we have seen how the Leucippides’ priestesses were an appropriate choice for both a race and a parallel to horses. Hutchinson 2001, 90 categorically excludes the presence of races, but his reasoning is unclear; the point of comparison of the horses is their beauty, not swiftness, according to him, but the fact that the horses are described as running can hardly be considered irrelevant to the comparison.

¹⁵³ In particular, Calame 1977. For a completely different position see Hutchinson 2001, 99; according to him, the purpose of the performance was to please the goddess, who would lead the city to political and military peace. It remains unclear how a Dawn goddess would be involved in granting peace to the city and victory in war.

¹⁵⁴ Ferrari 2008, 84-86, 128-135 suggests that we read the mention of Sirius and the Pleiades as a signal of the time period of the performance; in fact, Sirius is at its brightest and the Pleiades set at dawn at the beginning of winter, and therefore our performance could belong to the *Carneia* festival. While this reading owes much to the interpretation of *pharos* as plough, it is a convincing way to explain the presence of the Pleiades. As we have seen (2.6), the Leucippides’ priestesses could have been connected to the Hyacinthia festival, but this does not exclude their presence in other similar festivals. Dale 2011, 28-32 suggests, instead, that the Pleiades were joined to Sirius as baleful stars and therefore “challenged” by the chorus as the “archetypal maiden chorus”, according to a secondary version of their myth (31). Otherwise, the Πελλάδες of the text could be taken literally to mean “doves” and therefore erase any problem concerning the star cluster; cf. e.g. Peponi 2004, 303-307 and Priestley 2007, 180-189.

This reading belongs more to the realm of speculation than to the certainly proved; however, we shall underline all the suggestions we gathered from this discussion. First, the *Partheneion* could be understood in light of the story and the cult of the Leucippides, which would suggest an early appearance of the myth in Sparta; secondly, if the Leucippides could be recognised in the text, their divine origin and their cultic connection to female rites (possibly of initiation) could be better supported; thirdly, it can also be read in light of the cultic separation between the Leucippides.

To be sure, the story of the Leucippides was present in Alcman's poetry; two fragments of a commentary on his texts clearly point in this direction.¹⁵⁵ The exact text to which the commentary referred, the identity and the date of the scholiast remain unknown, but the appearance of the Leucippides in a commentary is meaningful. Considering how evanescent these characters are, it is highly unlikely that a scholiast happened to mention their names if they were not somehow present in the text. On the other hand, it is reasonable to think that the Leucippides could have appeared at such an early date in Spartan poetry. Given the extremely fragmentary state of the papyri in question, they cannot be used to find uncontroversial answers; nonetheless, we can at least make one relevant point.

The scholiast seems to mention that the Leucippides are the daughters of Apollo, as the name of Apollo is preserved immediately after theirs; we do not know whether, by doing so, he adds some information he knew from other sources, or if he just explains something implicit in Alcman's poetry. In any case, we find this tradition again, mentioned in another source (earlier than Pausanias and entirely independent from him, considering that it is dated to the second century BC), and connected again to Sparta and its oldest traditions. Perhaps, the scholiast commented on a hymn to the Leucippides as goddesses (such as the *Partheneion* could have been) and therefore felt the need to explain their divine nature and traits to a reader that was not familiar with it. Given the extremely fragmentary status of the passage, it is not advisable to further our investigation.

In fact, the preserved words are of no great help in reconstructing a complete picture of the context. ἀνδροδαμά(ζ)ω is not a common word, and its meaning is quite

¹⁵⁵ P. Oxy. 2389 and 2390 (T2 and T3).

univocal, “to tame men”; the ending in -σαι is a conjecture that would make the verb a third person singular, optative, aorist, active. However, the subject of the sentence remains unclear; if Phoibe were the only character mentioned, she would be the best candidate, since her name occurs in the nominative. If her sister was named by her side, then the singular would be entirely unexpected. Perhaps, Eros might have been the subject of this verb. It would certainly be appropriate if we consider him the powerful force behind the abduction of the two girls. However, in that case, it does not seem possible to insert Phoibe and Hilaeira in the nominative into the sentence, unless they appeared in an explanatory parenthesis. On the other hand, the fragmentary status of the line grants us plenty of space to conjecture other endings for the verb, or even just add letters to the suggested ending: -σθην, for instance, would result in a dual, or -ντο would make it a third person plural, both ideal with the two girls in question as subject. To be sure, being able to “tame men” is a peculiar attribute for respectable young girls, but we must consider that these Leucippides, daughters of Apollo, are most probably goddesses. The other verb, ending in -τροφε, looks like the ending of the third person singular of the perfect tense of στρέφω or one of its compounds, but we cannot be sure of its specific meaning in this case since we do not know anything about the context. Also, we would still have a singular verb, but no reasonable subject for it. However, the passage could be led in another direction if there were no separation between -τροφε and the following letters τον-, which might not belong to the following article in the accusative but to the preceding verb: -τροφετον, as a second person dual, imperative, of the same tense. In such a case, the verb would invoke the intervention of the two goddesses mentioned above. Following this part, the meaning is quite obscure. Possibly, the two Leucippides should turn something bad away from the invokers and instead give them something helpful, coming from the gods (or perhaps from themselves, being goddesses). As a final, controversial suggestion, we should also consider the possibility of this commentary not dealing with both the Leucippides, but with Phoibe alone. In fact, only her name appears for certain, and both recognisable verbs seem to be in the third person singular. Perhaps the only character of this *scholion* was the goddess Phoibe, daughter of Apollo, as identified with Aotis in the *Partheneion*.

To conclude, we must recognise that these fragments have engendered more uncertainties that we cannot safely explain; nonetheless, they have their value. If we assume that our scholiast is trustworthy and comments on exactly what he reads, the possibility of a genealogic connection of the Leucippides with Apollo is strengthened. Their divine power seems to be suggested, too; finally, it is also possible that the *scholion* (and the text on which it commented) mentioned Phoibe on her own, supporting her identification as an “older” goddess, as suggested in our discussion on the *Partheneion*, and as will be discussed in the following sections.

2.8. *Independent cult*

There is a consensus in modern scholarship on the existence of a specific cult of the Leucippides in Sparta. However, there has never been agreement on whether it could have existed separately from the Dioscuri and their cult. As already mentioned, the Leucippides do not exist independently from the Dioscuri, as far as myth is concerned, either in Sparta or in any other tradition. However, their cult seems to exist on a different level, in which the Dioscuri are not directly involved.

The Dioscuri were not present in the temple of the Leucippides;¹⁵⁶ possibly, Leda’s egg was a reminder of the Dioscuri’s birth, but it could also refer exclusively to Helen. In parallel, the Leucippides did not share in the cult of the Dioscuri.¹⁵⁷ No attested temple is dedicated to a joint cult of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri, meaning that their cult does not take the shape of a *ἱερὸς γάμος*. Joint worship in the same temple is extremely rare, and there is no reason to suggest it in this case. Broadly speaking, we would expect those secondary, female goddesses to be a corollary to their

¹⁵⁶ Larson 1995, 66: “This allocation of separate cult space to heroines identified as wives is very unusual, even in a Spartan context”. Consequently, we can expect the Leucippides not to be simply “wives”.

¹⁵⁷ They do not appear in any Spartan temple of the Dioscuri mentioned by Pausanias: tomb of Castor and sanctuary (3.13.1), sanctuary by the Dromos (3.14.6), statues of the Dioscuri Apheterii at the beginning of the Dromos (3.14.7), sanctuary of Polydeukes on the road to Therapne (3.20.1), sanctuary of the Dioscuri inside the *Phoibaion* (3.20.2 – T22) – only in this case, if the *Phoibaion* belonged to the Leucippid Phoibe and not to Phoibos Apollo, would we find the only connection between the cult of the Dioscuri and of the Leucippides – Dioscuri’s statues at Croceae (3.21.4), Gates of Castor (3.21.9), Dioscuri’s statues in Pephnus (3.26.3).

more prominent husbands, but the Leucippides priestesses are not involved in the cult of the Dioscuri; we have seen their participation in the cults of Dionysus and Apollo, neither of which has any direct connection with the Dioscuri. Finally, we tracked their presence back to the parade of girls on chariots during the Hyacinthia and, more generally, to night-time choruses and races of girls.

To sum up, from the analysis of these points as developed in the previous sections, we infer that the Spartan Leucippides were tightly bound to the Dioscuri only in myth, but showed no sign of a definite connection in their cult. They are not wife-goddesses but present an affinity to Apollo and Dionysus (both connected to choruses and initiations) and in general to girls entering adulthood and becoming brides, but their influence on women scarcely reached beyond the moment of their wedding. In fact, we have repeatedly found them in connection to singing and dancing choruses of παρθένοι; the Leucippides themselves are described as παρθένοι, and so are their priestesses.¹⁵⁸ Their wedding to the Dioscuri, although exemplary for Spartans, and their children are known to the Spartan myth but seem to belong to a mythological identity, separate from their cultic one.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, we propose that the Spartan Leucippides must have been goddesses of maidens, involved in the rites of passage from adolescence to adulthood and possibly marriage, and were initially separated from the Dioscuri in this function, as suggested by their temple.¹⁶⁰ Also, the fact that the cult of the Dioscuri spread to the whole Greek world, but was not accompanied by the cult of the Leucippides, would strengthen the hypothesis of an independent cult of the two goddesses.

Nonetheless, these local goddesses were at a certain point related to the Dioscuri through marriage and were absorbed into their mythological life. To better explain this

¹⁵⁸ Larson 1995, 67-68 refutes Calame's idea that the Leucippides were initiatory heroines/goddesses in Sparta, because Helen already played that part, but still sees in the maidenhood of the priestesses the last remaining sign of an independent cult of the Leucippides as virgins, not wives. However, Larson herself is forced to admit that "we cannot clearly ascertain the *function* of the Leucippides' cult", if we refute the initiatory function. Pomeroy 2002, 111 notices that the cult of Orthia served as the model for the Spartan cult of lesser goddesses with a similar function, i.e. fertility; among those goddesses, she names Eilethya and Helen. Therefore, she supports the possibility of the existence of more than one cult concerned with the same function. In this same group of fertility goddesses, and by Helen's side, the Leucippides would find their natural placement.

¹⁵⁹ A clear parallel can be found in Spartan Helen, for which her mythological identity as the famous adulteress was completely influent on her local cult as goddess.

¹⁶⁰ Above all, cf. Calame 1977a.

process, we should take a step back and consider the recognised functions of the Dioscuri as gods and heroes in Sparta. As we have seen in a previous section, the Spartan Dioscuri, at least in the archaic period, are not the ephebes we are used to seeing in other contexts; instead, they are young adults, at the peak of their physical prowess. They are the ideal warriors, usually depicted as aristocratic horsemen, models and protectors of the two kings and at the same time of the most excellent among the Spartan youths.¹⁶¹

Therefore, the interaction between the two pairs can be explained as a wedding connection between two goddesses who oversee the passage into adulthood for girls and two gods who are the ideal models of Spartan young adults. It is interesting to notice that the sons of the Dioscuri and the Leucippides were, probably, known to Spartan myth but had no relevance to their parents' worship, as theirs was not a cult connected to female adulthood and motherhood.¹⁶² The cults of the Leucippides and of the Dioscuri remained separate since boys and girls travelled different paths to adulthood and marriage. In particular, marriage and entrance into adulthood approximately coincided for girls; Greek men, in general, married later than females, and marriage was only a corollary to the full citizen rights reached at the end of the staged progression into adulthood. This situation is reflected in the different identities of the Spartan Dioscuri and Leucippides: the former as warriors (i.e. young warriors who have reached adulthood and maturity, therefore growing a beard), the latter as young girls (who reach adulthood only through the initiation of marriage). The focal point of the myth of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri is the abduction, which either leads to a wedding or is a substitute for a formal wedding, and this is reflected in real life by the traditional Spartan marriage, which sees a mock abduction as its central event, and of which the abduction of the Leucippides is the mythological archetype.¹⁶³ A web of influences connects reality, myth and cult.

¹⁶¹ The Spartan kings descended from the twin sons of the Heracleidae Aristodemus, Eurysthenes and Procles; their wives, Lathria and Anaxandra, were sisters (possibly twins too), and were buried and honoured together in a single tomb. Larson 1995, 65 speculates that, if the sons of Aristodemus were symbolic counterparts of the Dioscuri, their wives could have been considered counterparts of the Leucippides.

¹⁶² As mentioned above, cult and myth seem to exist separately.

¹⁶³ Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 1.6 and Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15.3-6 (T14). Cf. Pomeroy 2002, 118.

The first and only attestation of a proper, joint cult comes only in the second century AD; it is a dedication to Artemis by a youth, Marcus Aurelius Zeuxippos, who had won a series of competitions during a festival.¹⁶⁴ He declares himself priest (ἱερεὺς) of both the Leucippides and the Dioscuri (here called Tindaridai).¹⁶⁵ This title is not the same held by the Leucippides priestesses mentioned by Pausanias, who were all female, but could be an honorary title or the product of a radical change in the structure of the cult. The most likely interpretation, however, is that there were two separate cults. The Leucippides were worshipped on their own in their temple and with their priestesses, as noted by Pausanias, who probably pointed this cult out as a peculiarity of Spartan religion. On the other hand, a priest of the Leucippides and the Tindaridai could have been connected to another cult in which the Tindaridai (and therefore a male priest) were dominant, possibly in connection to their wedding and the heroic nature of the Tindaridai, and in opposition to the divine cult of the *parthenoi* Leucippides. Otherwise, the cult of the Tindaridai and the Leucippides could have been a cult concerned with adolescents of both sexes.¹⁶⁶ In any case, the existence of this other cult does not imply that there could not have been a separate, independent cult of the Leucippides, as recently suggested by Walker.¹⁶⁷

To conclude, we can state that there was an independent cult of the Leucippides in Sparta. Their cult, as attested by Pausanias, is connected to Dionysus and Apollo and not to the Dioscuri; there is no reason to suppose that it was a ἱερὸς γάμος or that it concerned marriage primarily. Instead, it configured itself as a cult concerned with the preparation of maidens for marriage. The late attestation of a joint cult with the Tindaridai does not damage this interpretation, as it probably referred to a separate cult

¹⁶⁴ IG V.1.305 (T27).

¹⁶⁵ While the cult of the Dioscuri in Roman Sparta is widely attested (cf. Motyka Sanders 1993), this is the only instance of their connection to the Leucippides.

¹⁶⁶ Hupfloher 2000, 90.

¹⁶⁷ Given these other possible readings, I do not think that the existence of this priest implies that the Leucippides priestesses discussed above were under his jurisdiction, as suggested by Walker 2015, 131-132. I believe they simply belonged to parallel cults and had different responsibilities (cf. also Hupfloher 2000, 87). Zeuxippos states that he was *bouagos*, i.e. leader, of an age group of boys; Hupfloher 2000, 86 believes that he was *bouagos* when he set up the dedication, making him an adolescent. As a consequence, he could not act as a legally adult citizen, responsible for a sanctuary and, more importantly, for its female priestesses.

that coexisted with the independent cult of the Leucippides and catered to different needs, as difficult as it is now to pinpoint them exactly.¹⁶⁸

2.9. Individual existence

So far, we have considered the Spartan Leucippides as a single entity; while it is true that the only distinction between the two girls lies in their individual names, some controversial testimonies suggest a possible, separate existence of the two girls. In this case, Phoibe seems to be the more important and older of them. In fact, if we follow the parallel with the Dioscuri to its furthest extreme, as we have a divine brother (Polydeukes) and a human one (Castor), we could also suppose a divine Leucippid (Phoibe) and a human one (Hilaeira), who were later evened in the same cult. Also, we should consider that the Dioscuri, too, while not having separate, mythological lives, still enjoyed (occasionally) separate cults in Sparta.¹⁶⁹

A nudge in this direction comes from the Spartan *Phoibaion*, the sanctuary mentioned above that hosted a temple of the Dioscuri and that could have very well gotten its name from the “original” or “more divine” Leucippid;¹⁷⁰ unfortunately, Pausanias’ testimony is not helpful here.

Θεράπνης δὲ οὐ πόρρω Φοιβαῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ
Διοσκούρων ναός· καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα [...]

Not far from Therapne, there is the so-called Phoibaion, in which
there is a temple of the Dioscuri; there, the ephebes sacrifice to
Enyalios [...]

He does not seem to be able to explain the origin of the name *Phoibaion*, so it is possible that the name in question came from a very ancient tradition that was lost with time. Pausanias does not mention how old the sanctuary was either; the disconnection

¹⁶⁸ Possibly, this cult was based in the *Phoibaion*, a sanctuary that contained a temple of the Dioscuri and could have been connected to the Leucippides (i.e. to the Leucippid Phoibe). Cf. Hupfloher 2000, 87-88.

¹⁶⁹ Tomb of Castor and sanctuary (Pausanias 3.13.1); sanctuary of Polydeukes (Pausanias 3.20.1).

¹⁷⁰ Pausanias 3.20.2 (T22). Larson 1995, 67 is almost certain of it.

between the name of the sanctuary and the cult taking place in it, however, seems to suggest an ancient place of worship, the name of which remained while its use changed with time. Also, the temple of the Dioscuri inside it does suggest a connection with the Leucippides. Immediately before (3.20.1), Pausanias states that, on the road to Therapne, there were also a spring dedicated to Polydeukes (Πολυδεύκειά ἐστιν αὐτὴ τε ἡ κρήνη) and a sanctuary of Polydeukes (Πολυδεύκους ἱερὸν). The individual presence of Polydeukes on the road to Therapne would find a perfect match in Phoibe's individuality in the *Phoibaion*, just outside Therapne; Phoibe is, in fact, Polydeukes' wife in most sources.

On the other hand, Pausanias only states that the *Phoibaion* hosted ritual fights among ephebes and a sacrifice to Enyalios, the god of war. Neither of these elements has any logical connection to the Leucippides, but both manifest an initiatory character easily ascribable to Apollo (i.e. Phoibos), a fact that would dramatically weaken our identification of the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the presence of a temple of the Dioscuri could have influenced the evolution of the sanctuary as a whole. In fact, the Dioscuri, as the ideal warriors and models of what a young Spartan was expected to become, could justify a sacrifice to a warlike divinity and a competitive proof of strength among ephebes. Possibly, the sanctuary at its earliest stage hosted rites connected to both girls and boys, and only at a later time (when Phoibe had completely lost her individual identity), did the male prerogative prevail, perhaps with the help of an easy etymology connecting *Phoibaion* to Phoibos Apollo and therefore to ephebes alone; if a family connection between Phoibe and Apollo as her father already existed, it could have easily justified the evolution of the local cult towards the responsibilities of the latter. Somehow similarly, the Spartan *Menelaion*, despite its name, seems to have been primarily connected to the cult of Helen and only secondarily to Menelaus.¹⁷¹

Our mention of Helen is particularly poignant in this context, since she offers a relevant parallel to the hypothetical cult of Phoibe. Helen's origins, cult and nature (divine or heroic), especially in Sparta, have been at the centre of an ongoing debate for more than a century. She has been read as a Mediterranean vegetation goddess and

¹⁷¹ For instance, Clader 1976, 69, Hall 1995, 602, Hall 2007, 334 and Blondell 2013, 46 suggest that the *Menelaion* was originally reserved to the cult of Helen, which was only associated with the cult of Menelaus later, possibly under the growing influence of the Homeric epic.

an Indo-European Sun-princess, an Eastern goddess of fertility or a local initiatory goddess, a maiden, a bride and a mother, an epic heroine and a faded goddess, immortal and mortal, dead and alive. Her controversial identity reminds us closely of the ambiguity concerning the nature of the Dioscuri, and it cannot be by chance that they belong to the same mythological kernel. A consensus has never been reached, and this work is not the right place to dwell on such a wide topic as the intricacies of Helen's origins.¹⁷² For our purpose, only some points will be pointed out to sketch a quick comparison between Helen and the Leucippides in general, which becomes more poignant in the case of our hypothetical independent Phoibe.

First, they all share the ambiguous nature of the Dioscuri, to whom they are connected either by birth or marriage. In fact, both Helen and the Leucippides are born as mortal heroines, connected to specifically "human", not divine, mythological events. They receive a cult in Sparta (as we shall confine our inquiry to Sparta) or, in the case of Helen, more than one. Logically speaking, these cults should be hero cults. However, the scattered evidence at our disposal is not so univocal. Concerning her cult in Therapne, Helen is called a goddess by Herodotus (6.61.3); Isocrates (*Encomium of Helen* 63) states that Helen and Menelaus received worship at the Menelaion as gods, not as heroes; the Menelaion itself is always called a *váoç* or a *ιερόν*, not a heroon, although Pausanias (3.19.9-10) maintains that the *váoç* also hosted Helen's and Menelaus' tombs.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, Helen's death (like the Leucippides') is unknown, if we exclude some minor and peripheric traditions (e.g. Helen Dendritis in Rhodes). Theocritus' *Idyll* 18 describes the institution of a pre-wedding ritual in honour of Helen that does not resemble any form of hero cult but could reflect her cult at the Platanistas.¹⁷⁴ The Leucippides, too, are worshipped in a *ιερόν* and are called goddesses (Pausanias 3.16.1 – T18). Modern scholarship has recently reconsidered these sources on Helen, conjecturing either a mistake, an invention or plain carelessness on the ancient authors' part;¹⁷⁵ possibly, Helen's cult (and, in parallel, the Leucippides' too) should be read, instead, against the backdrop of the current debate

¹⁷² Selected bibliography on the topic: Clader 1976, Skutsch 1987, Jackson 2006, Edmunds 2007, Rozokoki 2011, Blondell 2013, Edmunds 2016.

¹⁷³ On the dedications at the Menelaion, cf. Antonaccio 2005.

¹⁷⁴ Edmunds 2016, 164-168.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. bibliography on Helen above.

on the redefinition of the distinctive traits of heroic and Olympian cults.¹⁷⁶ To be sure, what can be inferred from our sources is that the nature of these characters and of their cults was atypical and, despite their origins as mortals, closer to that of goddesses proper than of heroines.

Both Helen and the Leucippides are connected to abductions and weddings. Helen is abducted by Theseus and, then, by Paris; her wedding to Menelaus and the competition between her suitors, however, are even more important in Sparta. Both her Spartan cults – in Therapne and at the Platanistas – are concerned with pre-wedding initiation (racing) and the acquisition of the desirable qualities of a bride (beautification of the future wife of Agetus).¹⁷⁷ We have attributed the same jurisdiction to the Leucippides in the previous sections.

So far, this work has mostly tried to steer away from the controversial topic of Indo-European models. In this case, however, a brief mention of the so-called Sun maiden is unavoidable. By this, I acknowledge the existence of such a debate but shall not dwell too much on it or take any firm position. The Indo-European Divine Twins, who are commonly identified as the prototypes of the Greek Dioscuri, are commonly connected to a female character of solar nature, usually both their sister and betrothed, who is abducted by a hostile character and saved by her brothers.¹⁷⁸ Since incest and polyandry were taboos to the Greeks, these elements of the story could have been discarded quite early; however, the story of the abducted sister saved by her brothers fits Helen's abduction by Theseus well. However, it is also possible that some elements of the story were mechanically applied to the Leucippides or, even more appropriately, to an originally single Leucippid, Phoibe, when the Dioscuri "lost" their bride because they could not marry their own sister. This original Phoibe, therefore, would have been a divine entity connected to light (as suggested by her name, "Radiant") and perfectly specular to Helen, whose role as the bride of the Dioscuri she would have taken upon herself. Naturally, the whole question concerning Indo-European prototypes of

¹⁷⁶ E.g. Schlesier 1991; Scullion 2000; Ekroth 2002; Antonaccio 2005, Henrichs 2005, Parker 2005 and, more generally, the collection of articles in Hägg and Alroth 2005; Ekroth 2007; Deacy 2015; Ekroth 2015.

¹⁷⁷ Blondell 2013, 44-45; Edmunds 2016, 168 and 176.

¹⁷⁸ On this story, cf. e.g. Pisani 1928, Piccard 1939, Ward 1968, O'Brien 1982, Shapiro 1982, Grottanelli 1986, Robbins Dexter 1990, Frauenfelder 1991, Sergeant 1992, York 1995, Edmunds 2016.

historically attested myths is extremely controversial and stands on shaky ground; as a consequence, we shall not pursue this theory any further.

On the topic of Phoibe's individuality, Alcman's *Partheneion* is, again, a relevant source. We have suggested that the goddess Aotis, invoked during the rite, could have been one of the Leucippides; the choice always falls on Phoibe, who would, therefore, occupy a privileged position. On the other hand, a reflection of this difference in status between the two goddesses can also be supposed between the Leucippides priestesses (as long as there were only two of them and not a more numerous group). If we believe that the two girls leading the rite in Alcman's poem, Agido and Hagesichora, are the Leucippides priestesses, we see that they are not on the same level, but one surpasses the other in beauty and radiance. Alcman's poetry naturally reflects the status of things in Sparta at a very early date (seventh century BC). All the other sources on the Leucippides are considerably later and therefore could attest only the final stages of the evolution process of our characters, a process of which the Spartans had long forgotten the beginning and perhaps many of the intermediate steps.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ It is not possible to discuss the intricacies of Indo-European myth here, but it is certainly useful to mention at least that the archaic existence of only one Leucippid in relation to two Dioscuri could be rooted in the possible Indo-European background of the myth, where two Divine Twins are engaged to one single girl. The need for a second wife could have arisen only at a later moment, when polyandry was not accepted anymore, even among gods. On the myth of the Divine Twins, cf. Ward 1968 and 1970, Bianchi 1979, Shapiro 1982, Grottanelli 1986, Fraunenfelder 1991, Sargent 1992, York 1995.

2.10. Conclusion on the cult – the nature of the Leucippides

So far, we have discussed the existence and nature of the cult of the Leucippides; throughout this analysis, we called them goddesses. In light of the suggestions, hypotheses and data that have emerged, a clearer picture of their identity can be drawn now and shall be discussed in more detail.

Characters from the myth usually rose to the cultic status of heroes, but the separation between heroes and minor gods is often more controversial than assumed. Against this backdrop, the situation of heroines is even more complex, given the smaller number of attested cults. A standard definition of heroes and heroines – if such a thing can even exist – describes them as men and women of old who died and acquired divine power, making them worthy of human veneration. Myths tell the story of their life and death, how they came to obtain divine favour and how their cult was instituted. As heroes acquire their divine status only after death, their cult differs from the cult of the Olympians; it is, in fact, similar to a cult of the dead, often bound by a grave (which can be replaced by a heroon), and their power only extends as far as the boundaries of the community which venerates them.¹⁸⁰ Heroines are often subordinated to their male counterparts; when they are worshipped on their own, they mostly speak to the female part of society and are connected to rites of passage. Their story is, therefore, exemplary; they underwent a status transformation that is now memorialised by and repeated in rites of passage and extend their protection over the girls who imitate them by undergoing the same rites.

Given these premises, what is the position of the Leucippides? As we shall see in the following chapters, they can hardly be considered heroines in a cultic sense, as their cult is not attested in any location of ancient Greece but Sparta. From this point of view, they belong to a wide category of mythological heroines whose purpose is only paradigmatic and not cultic (lovers, rape victims and mothers of heroes and gods often fall into this group). By this definition, I mean that they show the way to be a proper woman in Greek society by undergoing the same changes of status (i.e. initiation into adulthood, marriage and motherhood) as ordinary women, without

¹⁸⁰ On hero cults, cf. e.g. Snodgrass 1988, Antonaccio 1995, Lyons 1997, Kearns 1998.

acquiring through these any special jurisdiction over the acts themselves.¹⁸¹ We shall come back to this definition in the following chapters.

However, the situation seems to be more complicated in Sparta, where a cult of the Leucippides is indeed attested. The exact nature of this cult, however, is not immediately clear. First, Pausanias testifies that they had their own *ἱερόν* and priestesses. As shown by Pirenne-Delforge's study of Pausanias' terminology, a *ἱερόν* is a sanctuary or the temple inside a sanctuary and, in most cases, is dedicated to a divinity, either local or Olympian; while the attribution to a hero is possible, it is considerably rarer.¹⁸² Boards of priests are also more typical of divine rather than heroic cults. Secondly, no part of the Leucippides' mortal life – admittedly poor in details – would justify post mortem divinisation; their death is not even known.¹⁸³ Finally, although their abduction was certainly a part of the story known in Sparta, they do not seem to be closely connected to the Dioscuri, as far as cults are concerned; the Dioscuri are completely absent from the Leucippides' *ἱερόν*. These purely mythological heroines in the rest of Greece take on a more specific role in Sparta, where their nature, far from being exactly in-between human and divine, is much closer to local goddesses than heroines.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Kearns 1998, 102-103.

¹⁸² Pirenne-Delforge 2008a, 145-151.

¹⁸³ Heroes (and heroines) are characterised by their "obligatory relationship with death", as "death defines the difference between god and hero" (Lyons 1997, 69). Cf. also Kearns 1998, 98. When a heroine's cult is not related in any way to her death, which does not even seem to belong to her story, is it still appropriate to speak of a heroine and not of a (minor) goddess?

¹⁸⁴ The theory that reads heroes and heroines as "faded" gods and goddesses has now been largely rejected as an all-inclusive model; this does not imply the impossibility that characters known as heroes at a certain time and in certain places could have been gods in others (e.g. Ino and Ariadne). Cf. Lyons 1997, 128-130.

3. A myth in context: the Leucippides in the Greek world

The evidence considered so far has given us a mostly coherent, albeit fragmentary, picture of the Leucippides, who appear in many facets of Spartan life. However, the peculiarity of their Spartan condition transpires more clearly through a comparison with their embodiments in the rest of the Greek world.

The Leucippides, as mythological characters connected to the Dioscuri, are known almost everywhere Greek speakers set foot; the evidence is scarce in quantity and scattered, but it makes regular appearances throughout Greek history, from the beginning of the Archaic age to the Roman Empire. On the other hand, it is manifest that the Leucippides known outside of Sparta were quite different from the Spartan Leucippides, as this chapter aims to prove. Those differences depend on many possible factors, as we shall see, such as the different moment of importation, the origins of the model, the cultural background of the receiving city and the political and historical contingencies. Also, we shall demonstrate how a secondary episode of the myth, involving apparently semi-unknown characters, could have been renowned even in geographical contexts removed from its place of origin, and inquire through which channels it reached them. In particular, the analysis of the channels and forms of transmission will shed some light on the importance of myth in general – and of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri in this specific case – in the local processes of identity-making.

Many points that we recognised as pivotal to the identity of the Leucippides in Sparta find no equivalent outside the borders of Laconia. As a guideline to the reading of this chapter, we shall anticipate the primary areas of interest in which such differences are unmistakable: the absence or reduction of political implications, the lack of a cultic dimension, the necessary connection to the Dioscuri and the almost exclusive presence of the abduction episode. As a result, the Leucippides' story is devoid of much of its wider value, as it was perceived in the Spartan context; nevertheless, the loss of certain aspects of a story is an interesting phenomenon in itself. We shall investigate, therefore, the reasons why these aspects were lost and how they were replaced.

The situation in the Greek world is neither chronologically nor geographically uniform. Given the limited pool of preserved sources, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct the exact directions and stages of the expansion of the myth. However, the local embodiments of the Leucippides can be placed on a scale from the maximum preservation (Sparta) to the maximum innovation (Athens) and on a temporal scale from the middle sixth century BC to the second century AD. In order to reflect both these criteria and the material position of the sources considered, this chapter will follow a broadly-intended geographical spiral, which originates from Sparta, moves westward to Southern Italy, returns to the Greek mainland with Argos and Delphi, from which it pushes as far as Siphnos, and finally comes back full circle to Magna Graecia. Since the greatest number of testimonies comes from Athens and gives quite a homogeneous picture of the Athenian context, we shall reserve a separate chapter for it.

3.1. Magna Graecia

3.1.1. Rhegion

Geographically speaking, our sources come from both the mainland and the colonies; the earliest examples outside Laconia are dated to the middle of the sixth century and prove an already widespread knowledge of the story of the Leucippides. These first instances are scarcely more recent than our earliest Spartan information, and also seem to be very close to the Spartan situation itself. Nevertheless, the first signs of the drift in the meaning of the episode are already evident.

The first preserved and identified instance of the abduction of the Leucippides is depicted on a fragment of a Chalcidian lid from Reggio Calabria, dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BC (fig. 1).¹ The fragment shows Polydeukes as a bearded, long-haired man, wearing a chiton and taking Phoibe to his chariot, which is overlooked by a flying eagle. Neither character makes any expressive gesture. The girl is in a half-sitting half-reclining position in the man's arms and stares at her captor's

¹ A detailed analysis can be found in Rumpf 1927, n. 15, Tafel XXXV and 99-100.

face. Another preserved fragment of the same lid shows another chariot overlooked by another eagle.² Given the similarity between the two chariots, the second one probably belonged to Castor, who would have been depicted while abducting Hilaeira, Phoibe's sister, at the same time as his brother's deed.³ While the identification of the episode in many later depictions must be entrusted to internal evidence, in this case, the names of the characters are written by their sides.

Two fragments are certainly not enough to get a clear picture of the Leucippides in Magna Graecia; the limited evidence available prevents us from reaching any conclusion except the observation that the Leucippides were somehow known at this time in Rhegion. Nonetheless, the identification of the scene, its dating and provenance are certain, a rare case in our work, which offers the ideal stepping stone to some wider considerations and speculative reflections.

First, the item in question was found in Reggio Calabria. Rhegion is one of the oldest and most prosperous colonies of Magna Graecia; it was founded in the second half of the eighth century BC (around 730) by settlers from Chalcis (i.e. Ionians from Euboea), as confirmed by the literary sources.⁴ The same sources also attest a strong participation of Messenian elements, the chronology of which is more uncertain but seems to be tied to either the foundation of the city itself or a period immediately following it.⁵ Possibly, this original group was regularly reinforced by refugees from

² The interpretation of the two birds is highly controversial; they could imply Zeus' approval of the abduction or be read as a "declaration of paternity" of Zeus referred to the twins; the most common version wants the Dioscuri to have different fathers, but this solution is attested, too (e.g. *Homeric Hymns* 17 and 33).

³ Unfortunately, not much can be said on the first possibility. Castor's presence is without a doubt easier to guess; however, the individual abduction of a divine Phoibe by a divine Polydeukes could sit well with the archaic situation in Sparta that we have supposed in the former chapter, in which Phoibe could have been subject of an individual cult. In any case, this situation left minimal traces in Sparta and none outside of it, so its preservation in Rhegion would be an incredibly rare coincidence.

⁴ Diodorus 8.23.2 and Strabo 6.1.6. An overview of the sources can be found in Vallet 1958, 66-71. Obviously, literary sources are much later than the events considered; foundation stories should not be considered as proper historical documents, but as the point of convergence of oral traditions and political elaborations through the centuries. However, history and archaeology often offer parallel confirmations to them; for instance, Coldstream 2003, 200 suggests a connection between the dating of the Lelantine War and the foundation of Rhegion. The traditional stories state that Chalcis was driven by famine to send away colonists to Rhegion; a similar reason was also behind the war with Eretria, i.e. the possession of the Lelantine plain. The war is usually dated to a moment between 710 and 650 BC; the foundation of Rhegion should have reasonably happened some years before.

⁵ Vallet 1958, 76-77 shrewdly reads in the literary tradition of a Delphic oracle behind the foundation of Rhegion a sign of the Peloponnesian influence; in fact, no other Chalcidian colony bears traces of a foundation oracle.

the Peloponnese and maintained its clear and recognisable identity for centuries.⁶ Therefore, we are dealing at the same time with an Ionian foundation, a Western colony, but also a Messenian enclave.⁷

We should notice that the second half of the sixth century (when our vase was produced) sees a flourishing production of Chalcidian pottery in Rhegion, so much that modern scholarship on the topic tends to consider everything found in Reggio to have been produced locally.⁸ Therefore, the fact that pottery decorated with the abduction of the Leucippides was likely manufactured in a colonial context which is not directly connected to Sparta suggests that this episode of the Dioscuri's myth had already reached Magna Graecia in the second half of the sixth century BC.

More specifically, Polydeukes is depicted as a bearded youth, which is uncommon for the Dioscuri and almost exclusive to Laconia, as a quick overview of the iconographic material depicting them can prove.⁹ Another equally interesting point to consider is that Spartan Dioscuri correspond with Spartan Leucippides; in fact, as we have seen in the chapter on Sparta, the name "Phoibe" is the eldest name attested for one Leucippid and is the only one ascribed to her in Sparta.¹⁰ The physical

⁶ Dunbabin 1948, 12-13; Graham 1999, 15-19.

⁷ Hall 2008, 391-392 finds this reconstruction suspicious; he suggests that the Messenian presence in the foundation stories of Rhegion might be a fifth-century invention to legitimise the tyrant Anaxilas, whose ancestors came from Messenia. While this cannot be excluded *a priori*, as all our sources on the topic are later than Anaxilas' period, it seems too reductive; possibly, it would have been easier for Anaxilas to create a prestigious origin for himself than to re-write the story of his city. Also, post-dating the Messenian influence on the city makes it almost impossible to justify many of the cultural aspects we are about to consider. Whether the Messenians were in Rhegion from the foundation or from a later date, they must have been there before Anaxilas, possibly for some generations, and not in such a small number that could have been easily assimilated, but as a community large enough to maintain its distinct identity.

⁸ Vallet 1958, 211-228; Ferrari 1978, 88-92.

⁹ Cf. section 2.1. Usually, the Dioscuri are considered young men – at the liminal stage between teens and adults – growing their first beard, while being full-bearded is a typical attribute of adult heroes. Abducting heroes are usually ephebic in their traits, as we will see later on; procuring a good wife for himself through a valiant "hunt" is a worthy deed for a young hero and a model for the aristocratic youth, especially in the archaic period. A clear and recurring example is Theseus. Cf. Torelli 2013, 89-90; Von den Hoff 2013, 143. By contrast, the Spartan Dioscuri, at least in their earlier depictions, are always depicted as adult warriors, with long, pointed beards, long hair, and sometimes even with a hoplitic armour (e.g. *LIMC*, s.v. *Dioskouroi*, 58-64). Seventh and sixth-century vases from Laconia have been found in many colonial contexts; during these centuries, they circulated widely and beyond the borders of the Spartan colony of Taras, influencing local workshops in Gela, Locri, Camarina and Metapontum (Prost 2017, 169).

¹⁰ Although no clear connection can be traced, it might be worth considering that the Spartan Leucippides were intrinsically connected to Apollo and choruses, and Rhegion hosted a well-attested and ancient cult of Apollo (founded by Orestes, according to the myth, and therefore ideologically

appearance of Polydeukes and the wide circulation of Spartan pottery in this period seem to suggest that this type of depiction found its direct models in Spartan art, although no such a scene is preserved. On an admittedly speculative note, however, also the Messenian community in Rhegion might have had some influence on the arrival of the myth of the Leucippides at Rhegion. In fact, the oldest traditions of Messenia are completely lost to us during the centuries of Spartan rule, but our sources (cf. above) report unanimously that the Messenians who came to Rhegion were escaping the war with Sparta, and the dates of the First Messenian War overlap easily with the foundation of Rhegion and the years immediately following it. Therefore, those first settlers could have brought with them ancient traditions in a form that predated the Spartan subjugation and centuries of repression or even oblivion of the same traditions. Unfortunately, no real evidence can be brought forward for this hypothesis at the moment.

3.1.2. Suggestions from Locri

No direct evidence of the presence of the Leucippides in Locri is preserved. Nevertheless, the Dioscuri are largely attested and from an early date. Although this point does not necessarily imply a connection to the Leucippides, it offers a potentially ideal background for such a development, in conjunction with a web of artistic similarities and historical relationships. In this section, therefore, we shall present some hypotheses on possible interpretations of the Locrian context that would be complementary to our previous discussion.

Locri and the Spartan colony of Taras grew politically close almost certainly around the middle of the sixth century when they found themselves (and Rhegion too, we should remember) on the same side against the growing power of the Achaean colonies (Metapontum, Sybaris and Croton).¹¹ Considering this context, it is only natural that, on the occasion of the war between Locri and Croton, Locri asked for help from Sparta. Sparta “sent” them the Dioscuri, who appeared to the rescue of the

connected to the Peloponnese and Helen’s family) and religious choruses, possibly of initiatory character (cf. Costabile 1979).

¹¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 191-192.

Locrians during the battle by the Sagra River (somewhere between 560 and 530 BC), which put an end to Croton's dreams of expansion.¹² Traditionally, the cult of the Dioscuri is believed to have made its appearance in Locri on this occasion.¹³ During this same war and in the years preceding it, Rhegion was a close ally of Locri.

From the artistic point of view, Locri is particularly renowned for a peculiar group of votive offerings, exceptional in their form, used only in Locri and only in the first half of the fifth century, with a peak roughly between 480 and 460 BC.¹⁴ Those are terracotta *pinakes* (i.e. plaques) depicting a limited variety of scenes, which, for our convenience, we can group into three categories:¹⁵ moments of a (possibly nuptial) rite, cultic scenes (Persephone and Hades enthroned), and abduction scenes, mostly identified as the abduction of Persephone by Hades.¹⁶ The interpretation of these votive offerings is controversial and has been at the centre of a large scholarly debate for decades. A comprehensive discussion of these findings falls outside the scope of this work, but we shall limit our investigation to some extremely circumscribed points of interest.

To be sure, the Leucippides have no place in these depictions, and there is no reason to suggest the identification of the abducted girl with them. However, a web of similarities between their abduction as we know it from other contexts and this iconographic type seems to suggest some influences of the former on the latter.¹⁷ The

¹² Diodorus Siculus 8.32; Justin 20.2-3. Modern studies believe that this tradition was invented in Locri itself, in the cultural and ideological settings that immediately followed the battle and was meant to celebrate the close friendship with Sparta and the importance of Locri as the centre of the cult of the Dioscuri in Southern Italy. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1974, 190 and in particular Giangiulio 1983. Of the contrary opinion is Van Compernelle 1976, who believes that the intervention of the Dioscuri at the River Sagra and the foundation of the city by the sons of slaves were late traditions, emerging no earlier than the Peloponnesian War to justify the alliance of Locri with Sparta (cf. also Sordi 1972).

¹³ This cult would be reflected in the two statues of the Dioscuri found during the first excavations, in the nineteenth century, of the temple at Locri – Marasà, although the temple can hardly be attributed to the Dioscuri, since the eldest level pre-dates the battle of Sagra. The statues probably belonged to the central decoration of the fronton, and have been dated to the third quarter of the fifth century BC (cf. Costabile 1995). Even more significant is the fact that, in these same years, Locri became politically closer than ever to Sparta, in defence against the western operations of Athens (Costabile 1995, 48).

¹⁴ Lissi Caronna-Sabbione-Vlad Borrelli 1999, 260-264.

¹⁵ Zancani Montuoro's first classification of the Locrian *pinakes* in ten larger groups and many subgroups according to the scene depicted has been adopted also in the most recent catalogue (Lissi Caronna-Sabbione-Vlad Borrelli 1999) but is much too detailed for our purpose. For references, we shall point out that the *pinakes* here considered belong all to group 2 (*"Il ratto di Core-Persefone ad opera di Pluton o più spesso di un suo delegato, probabilmente un Dioscuoro"*).

¹⁶ Good overviews of current theories can be found in Redfield 2003, Lippolis 2014 and Saxkjaer 2015.

¹⁷ Similarities between single elements of the abduction on the *pinakes* and the abduction of the Leucippides had been pointed out already in the *LIMC*, s.v. *Dioskouroi*.

most relevant point to consider is that the iconographic theme of the abduction of Persephone is not widespread in the Greek world before the second half of the fifth century, and the few examples we have before such a date show only partially comparable elements. Therefore, the Locrian coroplasts must have found inspiration for their abduction of Persephone in other abduction motifs, and the Leucippides' offered a clear model, coming from a tradition we know related to Locri in this period.¹⁸ In fact, many of those scenes represent the abduction of Persephone by Hades but, in others, the abductor is a young, beardless man (therefore incompatible with Hades' iconography) who takes away a girl on his chariot.¹⁹ Scholars are still divided on the identity of the Young Abductor;²⁰ occasionally, he has been identified as one of the two Dioscuri, to whom he greatly resembles.²¹ For instance, the clothing of the youth (only a chlamys, and often a hairband, no weapons) closely reminds of the ephebic abductions known to us through Athenian pottery, among which we obviously find the abduction of the Leucippides. The position of the girl in her abductor's arms (outstretched arms, sometimes reaching back to someone else) is typical of abduction scenes, but sometimes we find her "sitting" in her abductor's arms in a position that references Phoibe on our Chalcidian fragment from Reggio.²² Secondly, we should consider the topic and the context: the abduction of a girl by a youth in a city where the cult of the Dioscuri is well attested should be taken as a first clue.²³ Scholars have

¹⁸ Lissi Caronna-Sabbione-Vlad Borrelli 1999, 236 look much farther for a parallel and find it instead in the abduction of Antiope by Theseus in the temple of Apollo in Eretria, which clearly comes from a completely different context.

¹⁹ The simultaneous presence of the bearded Hades and the beardless abductor in some *pinakes* makes us denounce the identification of the youth as a "younger" Hades (e.g. Lissi Caronna-Sabbione-Vlad Borrelli 1999, 251).

²⁰ The name comes from Sourvinou-Inwood 1973.

²¹ Zancani Montuoro 1954, 201 first identified a Dioscurus as the Young Abductor; recently, cf. Lippolis 2014. Lissi Caronna-Sabbione-Vlad Borrelli 1999, 251 are more sceptical, but the hypothesis still makes its appearance. The reason for the presence of a single Dioscurus in the abduction might be found in a local variation of the story, in which Hades delegated the abduction to someone else. Paribeni 1964, 114 suggests that this Locrian tradition was a consequence of the most ancient traditions concerning the Dioscuri, which focused on their differences: one bearded, the other beardless; one boxer, the other rider. Obviously, the Dioscuri would have been a competent choice, given their history as abductors. Also, they enjoyed a special connection to the Underworld, to which they belonged as dead heroes, but which they could also leave at pleasure. Finally, we have the important presence of their cult in Locri, which would make them natural candidates for the part.

²² Curiously noted by Lissi Caronna-Sabbione-Vlad Borrelli 1999, 236-237, but not properly taken into account.

²³ De La Genière 1986, 406 already suspected a connection between the abduction scenes of the *pinakes* and Spartan wedding rituals.

also noted various “degrees of violence” in the abduction of the *pinakes*, which means that the depictions range from completely non-violent scenes that resemble a wedding procession, with the abducted girl standing tall and calm and even leading the chariot herself, to extremely fraught scenes, with the girl trying desperately to escape from the clutches of her captor.²⁴ The somehow blurred line between abduction and wedding is another common feature of the abduction of the Leucippides, as we shall see in the following chapter.

At the current status of the findings, the cult of the Dioscuri in Locri is well attested, but it is not possible to connect it *directly* with the Leucippides, unlike in Rhegion. To sum up, we know that a cult of the Dioscuri existed in Locri since at least the middle of the sixth century BC, influenced directly by Sparta and possibly by Taras, and in direct contact with Rhegion. The fragment from Reggio we have considered before is barely more recent than this period (third quarter of the sixth century). At this point, we cannot be sure whether Rhegion influenced Locri or the other way around; what we can say is that both cities belonged to a geographical and cultural context in which the Dioscuri and the Leucippides were well known at this chronological point, and traditions involving them were created, shared and believed.²⁵

3.1.3. *Rhegion again: more evidence*

The web of political and cultural interactions we have thus woven suggests reciprocal influences between Rhegion, Messene, Sparta and, possibly, Locri in the early Archaic age and identifies the traditions concerning the Dioscuri and the Leucippides as one element of interest inside this context. However, there is still one point to consider.

Our discussion on the evidence from Rhegion started from a fragment of a lid depicting Polydeukes abducting Phoibe; however, the fragmentary status of the lid and its thematic isolation among the surviving Chalcidian pottery do not allow to use it alone to advance any strong hypothesis concerning a cultic dimension of these colonial Leucippides. Possibly, another item should be connected to these fragments to offer a

²⁴ Lissi Caronna-Sabbione-Vlad Borrelli 1999, 246-247.

²⁵ On the artistic similarities between the two cities in the early fifth century, cf. also Dunbabin 1948, 369.

slightly richer picture. From the same site (the sanctuary excavated in Vicolo Griso Labocetta) comes a terracotta relief (end of sixth century BC – fig. 19), presumably from the decoration of an altar, depicting two girls.²⁶ At first glance, a modern eye is easily induced to identify them as dancers; the two girls are, in fact, gracefully leaping, standing side by side, while holding onto each other's shoulder. One of them holds up a side of her long chiton to free her feet. However, this type is not completely compatible with the dancer-type attested in the same period and presents clear similarities, instead, with the “fleeing companions of abducted girls” type.²⁷ Vallet first suggested to read them as the companions of the Leucippides scattering from the scene of the abduction on a comparative basis.²⁸ No internal evidence suggests the Leucippides' involvement; the co-existence of this relief and of the pottery examined above in the same sanctuary is mostly circumstantial. Nevertheless, comparative and contextual evidence allows us to at least hypothesise that we might be in the presence of companions of the Leucippides, if not of the Leucippides themselves, since we have ascertained that the story was known in the same location at the same time.

²⁶ Published for the first time in Barnabei 1886, who identified the girls as dancers. Putortì 1926, 65-74 was the first to suggest the identification of the girls as “escaping companions”; in particular, he thought of Nereids, but considered also the Leucippides' companions as the most likely among the other possible interpretations.

²⁷ In particular, direct parallels of this dancing position are limited, if not completely absent, as archaic reliefs and paintings usually depict more static positions.

²⁸ Vallet 1958, 132, 252-254, pl. XVII n.3. Already Putortì 1926, 61 strongly believed that both girls turned their heads back, as inferred by the position of their chests, in a gesture typical of escaping girls.

3.1.4. Poseidonia

The terracotta relief we have just analysed finds a possible parallel in the Heraion of Foce del Sele, in the territory of Poseidonia (Roman Paestum). A significant number of sandstone metopes from the middle of the sixth century BC have been found at the site.²⁹ Therefore, they are coeval of the pottery fragments and the relief in question. Two of them attract our attention, as one depicts two young men running, and the other two girls running too, in the same direction, and one of them looks behind her as if looking back at her pursuer (fig. 20-21).³⁰ The metope of the two young men is quite damaged; on the other hand, the metope with the two girls is one of the best preserved of the site. The girls are identical in their appearance, dress and hairstyle, but are distinguished by the different positions of their bodies. The one in the background overtakes the other one and is entirely focused on her run; the other turns her head straight back as if glancing at someone behind her and lifts the hem of her long chiton with her right hand. In particular, the stance of this second girl distinctly reminds us of the many escaping girls (especially the Leucippides and their companions) as depicted on vases. It is an important detail to register since many other metopes from the same temple depict pairs of girls in similar positions but lacking the dramatic effect of the turned head and the act of lifting the hem of the dress to prevent it from getting in the way of the run; usually, those girls are identified as dancers.

The *LIMC*, following the first excavators in this interpretation, classifies the two metopes as part of the same scene and as depicting the Dioscuri pursuing the Leucippides.³¹ The identification is hypothetical and cannot be proved with any certainty; for instance, it has been criticised more recently, mainly by van Keuren.³² In fact, it depends mostly on the assumed continuity of the two metopes, which cannot be taken for granted and could affect the reading of the whole scene. Obviously, we cannot prove their original positions, and the following reflections must be accordingly considered hypothetical; nonetheless, our metopes do fit together and with the

²⁹ This first series of metopes dates to the very first foundation of the temple, a building that was never finished, possibly because of a fire. Cf. de La Genière, etc. 1997.

³⁰ Vallet 1958, 254 positively compares the “conception plastique” of this scene with the relief from Reggio.

³¹ *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi, 206; Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti-Bianco 1954, 330-349.

³² Van Keuren 1989, 133-139.

Leucippides well. For instance, the identical appearance and stance of the two heroes could easily suggest their identity as twins.³³ The two girls could be generic runners, but their long chitons seem highly impractical for a race. Also, women's races were almost exclusively practised in Sparta and Argos, and our sources always speak of nude runners, or runners wearing short, practical chitons. While abductions are common in Greek myth, abductions of two girls at the same time are not. In fact, no other successful abduction consisting of two abductors and two abducted girls is attested in myth; this point is extremely relevant to our discussion, and we shall return to it repeatedly. Modern studies tried to identify the two girls as the abducted heroine and her maid or friend, who is not going to be abducted herself but is there during the episode.³⁴ While this idea is convincing enough at a theoretical level, abduction scenes are usually constructed in such a way that the "protagonist" and her companions are distinguishable; in most cases, there are several companions but, to one abducted girl generally corresponds one abductor, who can have companions himself (usually a charioteer) but who are not actively involved in the abduction *per se*. Also, in this case, there are no differences between the two girls except their body position, so that a total identification between the protagonist of the episode and a secondary character would be quite confusing.³⁵ More probably, they could both be fleeing companions, as

³³ Traces of beard have been identified on their faces, too (Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti-Bianco 1954, 333). Whether this detail speaks against their identification as the Dioscuri or is just derivative from a Spartan model of the depiction (e.g. the Chalcidian fragment above mentioned) is open to debate. However, in support of a Spartan model of the metopes, Zancani Montuoro – Zanotti-Bianco 1954, 346-347 bring a small bronze statue from the Museum of Palermo (n. 42), which reproduces a running girl very similar to the two on our metope: long hair divided into strands, the head turned back (clearly looking at someone behind), the left arm open-handed, bent at the elbow, thrust in front of the girl, the right arm lifting the long chiton. In this statue, they identify Peloponnesian, and in particular Spartan, traits, and suppose a Sicilian finding context, for an item of Tarantine fabric.

³⁴ For instance, van Keuren 1989, 134-136 suggests that the two abducting heroes could be Theseus and Peirithoos, but this reading excludes any connection between the two metopes, since the two heroes could pursue together either young Helen or Persephone, but not the two together. Therefore, she supposes that the two female figures could be Helen and a companion.

³⁵ Van Keuren 1989, 137-138 tries to solve the problem by identifying the companion as Phoibe, sister of Helen (a semi-unknown character, probably born from the confusion with the Leucippid, and who would not be important enough to be on the same level as Helen in this episode), or as Persephone. In this case, two separate pursuits (i.e. two separate episodes) with a common theme would be merged in a single panel. The choice of compressing two stories in a single scene is not common, but cannot be excluded; nonetheless, the perfect superimposition of Theseus and Peirithoos seems unlikely, given the different status of the two heroes, and unlikely are also the similarities between Helen and Persephone (a heroine, one, a goddess, the other). In particular, by the moment of the attempted abduction by Peirithoos, Persephone was a married woman, and a full-fledged goddess, who would manifest at least some form of attribute. In addition, Peirithoos' pursuit of Persephone is never depicted in preserved sources, probably because of its sacrilegious and hybriatic connotations.

proposed for the relief in Reggio; in this case, their individual identities are irrelevant, but they could still belong to an abduction. In fact, they would agree with the other metopes with dancing girls; one moment, the group of girls is dancing in a choral rite, while the moment after, the irruption of the abductors among them sends them scattering and fleeing in a panic. As we shall see, this narration fits particularly well with the abduction of the Leucippides, but, we must stress, is not the only possible interpretation and should be considered as highly hypothetical.

In order to justify this identification, we should also inquire whether and how the Leucippides' iconography could have been known in this context. As we have seen, Rhegion and Locri shared a close connection between themselves and with Sparta in the Archaic period; the same cannot be said for Poseidonia. Poseidonia was founded in the middle of the seventh century BC by settlers from Sybaris, i.e. Achaeans, and was, therefore, culturally and politically as far as possible from the tightly connected group of Ionian/Dorian colonies we have considered so far. Nevertheless, we should at least consider one point before we can discard the Leucippides hypothesis in the Heraion. Many common traits can be recognised in most artistic products coming from Magna Graecia in this period, independently from their ethnic origins. Most of those traits are particularly clear, and possibly originated, in the Chalcidian pottery from Rhegion.³⁶ The whole group of older metopes shows strong influences also of Corinthian, Ionian and Peloponnesian art of the same period,³⁷ and the Heraion of Sele was a border temple, and therefore easily influenced by different artistic streams.³⁸ Therefore, we could cautiously suggest that the Leucippides and their iconography could have arrived in Poseidonia under the influence of Rhegion and the Peloponnesians, where they were well known.

³⁶ De La Genière, etc. 1997, 345-346.

³⁷ De La Genière, etc. 1997, 344-346. In parallel, the relief from Reggio Calabria shows clear traces of Ionian influences, as already identified by Putorti 1926, 63-64. Therefore, the two reliefs – created in the same period and in the same style – belong to the same cultural climate. On a side note, the remainings of temples both in Locri and Poseidonia show a combination of Doric and Ionic architectural features that finds its continental model in the Throne of Apollo, in Sparta. Cf. Dunbabin 1948, 296-297. It might not be a simple coincidence that the only parallel for these buildings, somehow connected to the Leucippides, was inside the Spartan sphere of influence, in a building that depicted the abduction of the Leucippides, inside a cultic context that might have had something to do with the Leucippides themselves. On the topic, cf. section 2.2.

³⁸ De La Genière, etc. 1997, 344-345.

Regrettably, these are only suppositions. However, if the girls on the metope are not the Leucippides nor their companions, there is still something we can extrapolate from them. Our analysis of Rhegion and Locri has convincingly proved that the iconographical model of the abduction of the Leucippides was known somewhere in Magna Graecia at the very least from the middle of the sixth century BC (an idea which shall be strengthened in the section on Taras). Since iconographical models can move in space separately from their original meaning and context, we can suggest that the abduction in Foce del Sele could have been influenced by authoritative models in Southern Italy, among which, naturally, the Leucippides from Rhegion, independently from the specific identity of the characters involved.

3.1.5. Concluding remarks

In conclusion, the fragment of lid from Reggio with a fragmentary abduction scene with which we started our discussion has opened up a series of interesting questions and contributed to a complex first picture of the Leucippides outside Sparta. We suggest that, moving from an already affirmed position in Laconia and Messenia, the Leucippides came to Rhegion no later than the middle of the sixth century BC, but possibly as early as the end of the eighth century, following the routes of Chalcidian merchants and of Peloponnesian settlers: the Messenians in Rhegion itself, the Spartans in Taras, and the Locrians in Locri (who were not properly Peloponnesian, of course, but were Dorians and always maintained a privileged relationship with Sparta). The myth was probably accompanied by some of the political value and importance that the Leucippides held in Laconia and Messenia, and also some of the depiction's defining traits refer to our oldest Spartan sources. Soon Rhegion and Locri became important centres for the cult of the Dioscuri, and likely the main hubs for the diffusion of the myth in Italy. The first trait to disappear when removed from Sparta was the cultic dimension; nothing lets us imagine a cult of the Leucippides in Rhegion, and if they were somehow present in the sanctuary of Vicolo Griso Labocetta, they were not the main subject of the local cult; our knowledge of the situation in Locri is even more fragmentary, and a cult in Poseidonia should be excluded.

3.2. *Argos*

The next step in our geographic detour takes us back to mainland Greece, to Argos. The period considered is still the sixth century BC, but our only source is much later. In fact, the Leucippides' presence in Argos is only attested by Pausanias, who describes the temple of the Dioscuri in the city.³⁹

Προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ τάφος ἐστὶν Ἄργου Διὸς εἶναι δοκοῦντος καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως Νιόβης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός. Ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν Ἄναξις καὶ Μνασίνους, σὺν δὲ σφισιν αἱ μητέρες Ἰλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη, τέχνη μὲν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, ξύλου δὲ ἐβένου· τοῖς δ' ἵπποις τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐβένου καὶ τούτοις, ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποιήται.

Not much farther, there is the tomb of Argos, believed to be the son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus; after this, there is the temple of the Dioscuri. The statues represent themselves and their sons Anaxis and Mnasinous, and with them their mothers Hilaeira and Phoibe. They are the work of Diponos and Skyllis and are of ebony wood. Also the horses are mostly made of ebony, but there is also some ivory.

Inside the temple, the Periegete saw the *agalmata* (statues) of the Dioscuri themselves, their sons Anaxis and Mnasinus, and the mothers of those, Hilaeira and Phoibe.⁴⁰ The building has been dated to the first half of the sixth century, as suggested by limited information available on the life of the sculptors, Dipoinos and Skyllis, but we cannot say if the statues mentioned here were created together with the temple, or

³⁹ Pausanias 2.22.5 (T16). An inscription dated to c. 400 BC (*SEG* XXVI.428) has confirmed the placement of the temple in the agora. It is worth mentioning that this temple could be the very same *temenos* of the Dioscuri mentioned in *P. Oxy* 2442, fr. 7, containing a fragmentary text attributed to Pindar. According to the papyrus, a sacred wood in the *temenos* of the Dioscuri would have been the venue of a cult to the hero Electryon, imported from Tiryns by the same family who was responsible for the cult of the Dioscuri (possibly the family of the Nemean winner Theaeus, celebrated by Pindar in *Nemean* 10). Cf. D'Alessio 2004, 109-113. The Argive cult of the Dioscuri is also attested by agonistic dedications (e.g. *IG* IV.561, dated to the first half of the fifth century BC; cf. Amandry 1980, 211) and, in particular, by a fifth-century dedication reused in the *parodos* of the Roman theatre (Bonanno Aravantinos 1994, 15).

⁴⁰ In Pausanias, the word *agalma* usually defines a statue that has religious value, although it is not necessarily or only the statue of the cult recipient in a temple (Pirenne-Delforge 2008b, 151, 271-272). Both heroes and gods receive *agalmata* if they are objects of worship, so the existence of an *agalma* is not a mark of distinction between heroes and gods (Pirenne-Delforge 2008b, 276).

if the temple (and therefore the cult) pre-dated them.⁴¹ In the following pages, we shall presume that the attribution of the statues as reported by Pausanias (and Clement of Alexandria) is completely trustworthy since no evidence currently available to us is at odds with it. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the following observations are mostly hypothetical and based on this assumption.

Pausanias, in the second century AD, has no difficulties in recognising the members of the family of the Dioscuri and their individual names; probably, inscriptions helped him identify the characters in question, too. However, eight centuries had passed since the foundation of the temple, and we should, therefore, stress the peculiarity of this statuary group in its chronological context. Interestingly, we deal with the same period as in the previous section, and we moved back to Peloponnese, in a context culturally, and not only geographically, much closer to Sparta; however, the chronological and geographic continuity we have easily spotted in Magna Graecia is here overthrown by considerably different themes. In fact, the abduction has been the pivotal element of our discussion insofar. In our only Argive attestation, instead, the abduction fades to the background and gives way to a new set of connected topics: first, the existence of children of the Dioscuri and the Leucippides, and secondly, the possibility that a wedding followed (or took the place of) the abduction.

Meaningfully, the Leucippides are introduced by Pausanias as the *mothers* of Anaxis and Mnasinus; therefore, we shall focus our attention on the two sons, since the Leucippides' motherhood is their defining element in Argos. Stories concerning their families probably existed also in Sparta but they might have not been as relevant, since they did not agree completely with the main traits of the Spartan Leucippides, namely their liminal existence between *parthenos* and *nymphe*, their partial independence from the Dioscuri, and finally their connection to the Dioscuri only as "abducted brides", an episode that is the mythological embodiment of the passage from *parthenos* to bride that the Leucippides themselves supervise as goddesses.

⁴¹ As far as I am aware, no other information can be found about the sanctuary. In antiquity, the two sculptors were regarded as disciples of Daidalos, among other sculptors who all lived between c. 650 and 510 BC (cf. Pollitt 1990, 19-20). The attribution of the statues to Dipoinos and Skyllis also appears in Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 4.42). On a side note, Dipoinos and Skyllis were also known as the masters of Clearchus, who founded the artistic school of Rhegion (Pausanias 3.17.6 and 6.4.4; on the topic, cf. Dunbabin 1948, 287).

Motherhood is a following step in the “initiatory” sequence and pertains to the fully adult woman, therefore belonging to the domain of other gods in Sparta. As far as we know, two characters inscribed as Anaxias and Mnasinoos were depicted on horseback on the throne of Apollo at Amykai, together with Menelaus’ sons.⁴² It seems likely that they were indeed the sons of the Dioscuri and that some tradition concerning them was known in Sparta in the sixth century BC, but it has left no other trace of its existence. The Leucippides do not appear in the same scene but only in an abduction scene.

It is fascinating to consider that the predominant identity of the Leucippides in our sources (both literary and visual) is that of “abducted maidens”. The only other author to report their motherhood is Apollodorus, who gives a rational order to the conflicting versions of the episode that existed at his time.⁴³ In his narration, the abduction came first, followed by a wedding and the birth of children, while the Apharetidae were involved only at a later stage, and the fatal duel that concluded the mortal lives of the Dioscuri was caused by a quarrel after a joint cattle raid. This sequence is sensible and functional and allows for different versions to be compatible with each other. Apollodorus knew that the Dioscuri were supposed to die in a fight against the Apharetidae, but he received two alternative versions of this episode; in one, the fight came after the cattle raid, in the other, after the abduction of the Leucippides.⁴⁴ However, it must have been clear to him that the abduction of the Leucippides was not just an alternative to the cattle raid but an episode that was accorded respect on its own and that, as a consequence, could exist separately from the duel. This idea was probably corroborated by other traditions that attested the survival of the Dioscuri after the abduction, their marriage to the Leucippides and the birth of their children. The Argive tradition, still present inside the temple seen by Pausanias, must have belonged to this same mythological *milieu* but was certainly not the only one.⁴⁵

⁴² Pausanias 3.18.13 (T21). Cf. Bonanno Aravantinos 1994, 10.

⁴³ Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12).

⁴⁴ Cf. section 1.2.

⁴⁵ A parallel case can be seen in Athens, where the marriage of the Dioscuri and the Leucippides is attested from the sixth century BC (cf. section 4.2.1).

In the Greek literature available to us today, there are only three sources that transmit the name of the sons of the Dioscuri. Pausanias (in the passage here considered) calls them Anaxis and Mnasinus,⁴⁶ Apollodorus attests Mnesileos and Anogos,⁴⁷ and, finally, Tzetzes has, as possible alternatives, either Anaxis and Mnasinoos or Mnesileos and Anogos.⁴⁸ It is clear that Tzetzes used the two authors mentioned above as sources on the topic; however, Tzetzes maintains that each Dioscurus had two sons, and therefore adds Asineus and Aulothus to the list of names. It seems clear that he received a set of names from Pausanias, who in turn found them in the Argive tradition, even though we do not know if they were inscribed in the temple or if the names came to him through oral testimony. The other set of names came from Apollodorus, and we have no way to trace it any further, but we can assume it belonged to another local tradition, parallel to the one in Argos (e.g. the Athenian). Finally, Tzetzes also read a source that already referred to either Pausanias or Apollodorus (or both of them as alternatives, or the sources behind them), but also to one more tradition, who knew four sons in total. If this other source had only had Asineus and Aulothus as names, Tzetzes would have put them on the same level as the other two pairs, i.e. as alternatives. However, Tzetzes' understanding of his source was that Asineus and Aulothus were certain, and to them, he had to add one between Mnesileos and Mnasinoos, and one between Anaxis and Anogos. It is a pity that we have no evidence of the tradition connected to Asineus and Aulothus, but we should expect it to be some local variation since names of secondary characters have always been prone to local changes in Greek myth. More interesting is the fact that this lost tradition seems to have had four sons instead of the two given by the other two sources, and that all of them had individual names.⁴⁹ Finally, we should notice that the alternative names offered by Pausanias and Apollodorus do share some resemblance (especially Mnesileos and Mnasinoos), but not enough to be considered variations of the same names.

To summarise, a local version of the story of the Leucippides developed in Argos and is probably attested from the middle of the sixth century BC, if we trust Pausanias'

⁴⁶ He also attests the Spartan variation Anaxias at 3.18.13 (T21).

⁴⁷ Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12).

⁴⁸ Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 511 (T29).

⁴⁹ Unnamed groups are more likely to vary in number: e.g. the Nereids, the Oceanids, the Pretids, *et al.*

attribution of the statues. Despite being geographically and chronologically close to the attestations of the Leucippides in Sparta, it is evident that those characters expressed a different set of values in Argos; in particular, they transcended their Spartan dimension of *parthenoi* and became mothers. We called this story “local” because the existence of the Dioscuri’s sons is sporadically attested, in contradictory contexts, and is void of any real mythological substance, as those sons do have individual names, but do not have individual personalities or lives that could support a widespread (if not Panhellenic) presence.⁵⁰

On the other hand, it is possible that Pausanias had only supplied the names of the mothers of Anaxis and Mnasiinos basing them on his pre-existing knowledge of the abduction of the Leucippides and did not find their names engraved on the statues or in the temple. However, we have no concrete reason to doubt his identification, since there is no evidence of any other woman who had ever been connected to the Dioscuri but the Leucippides. What should attract our attention is also that Pausanias calls the two mothers “Hilaeira and Phoibe”, using their individual names, which should not be taken for granted since they are usually known only as “the daughters of Leucippus” and their personal names are inconsistent.

Therefore, we are naturally led to question how the Dioscuri and the Leucippides – a group of characters intrinsically bound to Sparta – had already made their way to Argos in the middle of the sixth century BC. However, such a question would lay its foundation on a wrong assumption; the Dioscuri and the Leucippides did not need to “come” to Argos any more than they did in Messenia, where – as we have seen in both the preceding chapter and section – they already belonged to the most archaic nucleus of local myths. Unfortunately, no other source attests the presence of the Leucippides in Argos, but it would not be too hazardous to focus our attention on the Dioscuri alone for this purpose, as the Leucippides seem to depend on them in the Argive context.⁵¹ Modern scholarship seems to agree on the importance of the cult of the Dioscuri in

⁵⁰ On this topic, an interesting parallel comes with the sons of the Sanskrit Aśvina. The Indian Aśvina are considered another typical embodiment of the Indo-European Divine Twins, and their parallels with the Greek Dioscuri are striking. Each of them had a son, Nakula and Sahadeva, who were considered as close as twins, too. However, those two were full-fledged heroes, as important as their fathers (if not more than them), with well-developed stories and specific abilities and powers, as opposed to the sons of the Dioscuri, who were as insubstantial as shadows.

⁵¹ As explained above, the Argive Leucippides do not seem to have an independent existence; they only exist inside the temple (and therefore the myth and cult) of the Dioscuri as the mothers of their children.

Argos,⁵² which is widely attested not only by Pausanias,⁵³ but also by Plutarch (*Quaest. graec.* 23) and Pindar (*Nemean* 10),⁵⁴ and finally by the archaeological evidence, as several inscriptions bearing dedications to the Dioscuri as “Anakes” were found in the area.⁵⁵ The title of “Anakes”, i.e. “Lords”, is also typical of the cult of the Dioscuri in Athens, a cult which makes its appearance in the middle of the sixth century BC, exactly when the hostility between Argos and Sparta begins to rise, and Argos and Athens get closer to each other in an anti-Spartan effort.⁵⁶ While the *epiklesis* “Anax/Anassa” is attested for different gods (especially in post-Homeric literature), the plural “Anakes” is rarer; it is mainly used in inscriptions and to address *specific* gods known by this name, not a generic plurality of gods. Among those “Anakes”, the Dioscuri are certainly the “Anakes” par excellence, but not the only ones.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, it seems possible to attribute all the attested cases in Argos and Athens to the Dioscuri.

Some scholars believe that the cult of the Dioscuri in the Argolid could have been a relic of a Bronze Age cult, but probably we should not move as far back in time.⁵⁸ In fact, there is no mention of the Dioscuri in Mycenaean tablets;⁵⁹ secondly, the

⁵² E.g. Tomlinson 1972, 213; Hall 1995, 595-596.

⁵³ On the same topic, we could also mention the Archaic statues of the Dioscuri made for Troezen by Hermon (Pausanias 2.31.6), not specifically in Argos, but still in Argolid.

⁵⁴ Celebrating the victory of the Argive Theaeus, the epinicion narrates in detail the episode of the death of Castor and ends with his ascent to godhood through the intercession of his divine brother, Polydeukes. The importance given to the deification of the Dioscuri in an Argive ode suggests an important presence of the Dioscuri in the city by Pindar’s time. Some even read this appraisal of the Dioscuri as a sign of the good relations between Sparta and Argos when Pindar composed the ode itself (e.g. Kelly 1970b, 974). Pindar seems to be extremely familiar with Spartan poetry and traditions (cf. Recchia 2017), but he certainly would have not composed a purely “Spartan ode” for an Argive client.

⁵⁵ *IG* IV.561, 564, 566, 590. Cf. also Moretti 1998, 238. Of particular interest are the cases in which we find the dual (usually in the dative, as we deal with dedications): “*Anakoin*”. For instance, this dedication was found on a limestone block from the fifth century BC, reused in the Roman theatre of Argos (cf. *Chronique des fouilles en Grèce en 1955*, 388). The dual number, in fact, makes it easier to distinguish the (two) Dioscuri from any other group of gods that could be known by the name of “Anakes” (general plural).

⁵⁶ Kelly 1970b, 983-984 and Tomlinson 1972, 91-92. The presence of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri in Athens will be analysed in the following chapter.

⁵⁷ Cf. Hemberg 1955.

⁵⁸ Pugliese Carratelli 1965, 31; Tomlinson 1972, 200-203, 213. Hemberg 1955 already suggested that the cults of “Anakes” are typically very old, possibly pre-hellenic, but he did not believe it to be possible to prove that any of them dated back to the Mycenaean period.

⁵⁹ Obviously, we should not expect much information on myth and cults from accountability tablets; nonetheless, the tablets report many names of gods to whom sacrifices were made and the Dioscuri are not recognisable among them. Curiously, Pugliese Carratelli 1965, 33-34 states that the Dioscuri were clearly known to the Mycenaeans but does not seem to notice their conspicuous absence from his list of gods attested by the tablets.

fact that they enjoyed a considerable degree of popularity in the whole Dorian Peloponnese, but nowhere else in the former Mycenaean world (e.g. in Beotia or Thessaly) or in the Achaean Peloponnese, should make us suspicious.⁶⁰ Also, the main reason for the attribution of the Dioscuri-Anakes to the Bronze Age is the fact that the divinised kings of the Mycenaean period were called Anakes, too. However, the Dioscuri were two, while the *wanax* was only one (alive, but many were in the Otherworld – in any case the dual Anake, attested in Argos, was not appropriate for other Mycenaean kings); the Dioscuri were also eternally young and traditionally never inherited their father's kingdom – a peculiar feature for divinised kings; it is also clear that the name “Anakes” is a *cultic* epiclesis of the Dioscuri, while the Mycenaean *wanakes* were celebrated as the ancestors of the current *wanax*, i.e. because each of them had been the *wanax* in the past. Theirs is a political, not cultic title. Finally, we suggest that their purely human nature in the *Iliad* is easier to justify if the Dioscuri were *not* considered gods in the remotest traditions coming from the Bronze Age. However, the “divine” Dioscuri could have settled in the Peloponnese with the second wave of Indo-European invaders, i.e. the so-called Dorians.

The traditional stories concerning the “return of the Heracleidae” firmly place the three most important groups of Dorians in Sparta, Messenia and Argolid;⁶¹ it is not by chance that the Dioscuri (and usually the Leucippides with them) were well known and received a cult from the Archaic period in these three areas of the Peloponnese, and not, for instance, in Arcadia.⁶² During the centuries of relative isolation after the

⁶⁰ On the topic, Pugliese Carratelli 1979, 17-18 correctly identifies Laconia, Messenia and Argolid as the places of origin of the earliest attestations of the cult of the Dioscuri but does not connect the three areas with the Doric settlement. Instead, he maintains that the Dioscuri must have been Mycenaean gods, specifically the deified ancestors of the Spartan kings, basing his assumptions on the use of the theonym Anakes. However, this reading does not take into account that such a theonym is not attested for Sparta, but only for Argos and Athens. Pugliese Carratelli (21) tries to justify it as a consequence of the prestige acquired by the Laconian royal family in the Homeric epos and, in a second moment, by the historical Spartan diarchy. Neither is convincing, though, since the Dioscuri are barely present in the Homeric epos and it is doubtful that the Spartan kings enjoyed such a prestige in the whole of archaic Greece to impose the cult of their ancestors in Argos or even Athens.

⁶¹ Apollodorus 2.8.2-5, Pausanias 2.18.7-9 and 4.3.3-5. The story was well known and widely accepted in Greece; whether it contains any exactly historical truth is beyond our point here. What we should notice, instead, is that the ancient historians preserved a clear and uniform memory of the common origin of the Dorian populations of the Peloponnese. Cf. also Bremmer 1997, 13-17.

⁶² The Dorians who settled in the Peloponnese probably belonged to an originally united group, which had a homogeneous social structure, as suggested by the presence of the same three tribes in all Dorian areas: the Hylleis, the Dymanes and the Pamphyloi. Cf. Tomlinson 1972, 54-57. It is not much of a stretch to assume that this original group also shared cults and myths.

Dorian settlement,⁶³ the Dioscuri and the Leucippides were absorbed into the cultic and mythological systems of the three areas and ended up diverging slightly – less between the neighbouring Sparta and Messenia, more in Argos, which was separated from them by the Arcadians (especially Tegea). In particular, the differences are more evident in the Leucippides’ case. If we assume that the “Dorian” Dioscuri arrived bearing with them the story of the abduction of two girls, those two girls could have faced different evolutions in different contexts. As we have seen in the previous chapter, they became goddesses with powers above the girls about to become brides (through a ritual abduction, just like they did) in Sparta while, in Argos, they possibly followed the usual path of the abducted girls of myth, marrying their abductors and bearing them children. A suggestion in this direction also comes from their individual names; we regularly find Phoibe and Hilaeira in Sparta, Messene, Argos, and wherever their story could have arrived from Sparta, but different names (in particular Eriphyle instead of Phoibe) are attested elsewhere, for instance in Athenian pottery. Obviously, we should not think of our three areas as compartmentalised. We cannot exclude that, during the Archaic period, those local versions of the same myth could have influenced each other in some measure, in particular if we consider how much more important the Dioscuri and the Leucippides became in Sparta compared to the other two poleis and also Sparta’s cultural prestige during these same centuries.⁶⁴ Finally, we should also remember that recent studies have finally debunked the myth of Sparta’s and Argos’ long-term hostility; there is no proof of any such hostility before the sixth century BC, before which reciprocal cultural influences cannot be excluded.⁶⁵

To sum up this last point, both similarities and differences between the Spartan and Argive Leucippides can be successfully traced back to historical reasons. The

⁶³ On the matter, cf. Kelly 1970b, 976-977.

⁶⁴ In particular, the “sisterhood” between Sparta and Argos was a very well-known phenomenon, which involved cults, myths and the structure of the cities themselves; this last point becomes even more evident with the Imperial reconstructions, as attested by Pausanias. On the topic, cf. Marchetti and Kolokotsas 1995, 200-266.

⁶⁵ Kelly 1970a (on the non-historicity of the battle of Hysiae in 669 B.C.), 1970b and 1977, 87-88; Hall 1995, 582, 585-586; Franchi 2012a and 2012b. Herodotus 1.82 reports the Battle of Champions (roughly 546 BC) as the earliest war between Argos and Sparta known to him. During the so-called “Dark Ages”, those communities were too small, poor and disorganised to stage the large-scale wars later attributed to them; from the eighth century BC, Sparta’s and Argos’ first priority was to consolidate their control on the areas directly surrounding them, so that it is impossible to imagine them waging war on each other when they did not even share a border yet (cf. Kelly 1970b, 976-981 and 1977, 49-50, 74-76).

Leucippides and the Dioscuri all seem to belong to the same Dorian milieu, as suggested by their presence in the Dorian strongholds of Sparta, Messenia and Argos, where they share common traits such as their names. If we assume that their story “arrived” in each area at the same time, we can easily suppose that only there did they follow slightly diverging paths, reflecting local conditions and influences. Therefore, we can group the Leucippides and the Dioscuri in three parallel families: one deriving from Sparta, one from Messenia, and one from Argos. Given the geographical proximity and the early state of conflict between the two regions, the Spartan and Messenian branches probably collided quite soon on the two sides of the tumultuous border; as a consequence, we find major similarities between the Leucippides of Sparta, Messenia and their western colonies and allies. On the other hand, the Argive Leucippides evolved in a different direction, possibly in a condition of reciprocal influences with the near Attica.⁶⁶

On a different but related note, we shall also consider the matter of the wedding. As already anticipated, the presence of the Leucippides inside a temple of the Dioscuri and their identification as mothers of the Dioscuri’s sons both seem to hint at a “legitimation” of the Leucippides’ mythological position as the Dioscuri’s wives. Pausanias does not speak of marriage, in this case, but certainly knew of such a tradition, which he recognises with certainty as depicted inside the Athenian temple of the Dioscuri;⁶⁷ also Apollodorus attests this tradition, but his testimony might be a mere reflection of the Athenian story. Again, the Argive tradition seems to point to a close connection with Athens.

Naturally, children do not necessarily imply a marriage, as Greek myth is rich in children born out of wedlock, as the result of rapes and seductions, both by gods and heroes. However, on the rare literary occasions in which the Dioscuri’s children are mentioned, they are born within a sanctioned marriage between the Dioscuri and the Leucippides;⁶⁸ this can also be seen in the Athenian temple mentioned above, as attested by Pausanias. Since mythological *nothoi* are never reproached their illegitimate birth, and the children born from the union of the Dioscuri and the

⁶⁶ We shall come back to this point in section 4.2.1.

⁶⁷ Pausanias 1.18.1 (T15).

⁶⁸ Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12); Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 511 (T29).

Leucippides are even more evanescent than their mothers, it seems evident that “legitimising” their birth through a previous wedding was utterly unnecessary. Perhaps, in a context in which the Dioscuri were not considered gods yet, the beneficiaries of this development of the myth may have been the Leucippides themselves, who thus would not have been raped by mortal heroes but married to them. On a related topic, we have seen that Apollodorus places the wedding after the abduction, but marriage does not necessarily imply the abduction as a pre-condition, nor it excludes it; our sources (except Apollodorus) are vague on the point. Nonetheless, it is important to notice that Apollodorus (and naturally his sources) feels that the abduction is a vital part of the myth of the Leucippides, even though the girls are not previously engaged to anyone else and the Dioscuri intend to wed them lawfully. If the Dioscuri do not die because of the abduction,⁶⁹ we find that they indeed marry the girls and have children, before their deaths, still caused by the Apharetidae but connected instead to a cattle raid.

Following this tradition of a wedding, it has been supposed that the Leucippides’ presence inside a temple of the Dioscuri meant that the two girls shared their cult, in some form of sacred marriage.⁷⁰ This cannot be proved and seems quite unlikely, since Pausanias clearly stated that the temple belonged to the cult of the Dioscuri (alone);⁷¹ also, no trace of a cult of the Leucippides can be found outside of Sparta, and even there the cult of the Leucippides is clearly separated from the Dioscuri’s. What is remarkable here is that the two pairs of siblings are already connected (by children, and perhaps by marriage) at such an early date. This point will be a significant aspect to consider when dealing with the origins of our characters.

⁶⁹ As we shall see, this happens whenever there is no immediate connection between the abduction and the fight against the Apharetidae.

⁷⁰ Sbardella 2003, 148-149.

⁷¹ The debate has been ongoing for a century; for instance, already Schlesinger 1931, 162-163 placed these statues in the group of “a god [...] accompanied by members of his family”. His classification was based on Pausanias’ exact words; “god with X” meant that the temple exclusively belonged to the first god, while “god and X” meant that they received a joint cult. This structure is occasionally inconsistent, as in our current case; in fact, Pausanias states that he saw the statues of the Dioscuri *and* their sons, *with* their mothers. Therefore, the question should be whether the Dioscuri shared their cult with their sons, not their wives, for whom a cult should be excluded. As far as I could find, however, no one has ever put forward the hypothesis of a joint cult with Anaxis and Mnasinous, which would indeed be difficult to support, considered the intangibility of the characters themselves.

In conclusion, the information at our disposal on the Argive Leucippides is limited, and mostly depending on our knowledge of the Argive Dioscuri. Nevertheless, it proved to be useful in putting forward a series of questions and hypotheses that are complementary to the analyses appearing in both the previous and the following chapters. First, Argos presents the earliest tradition concerning the sons of the Leucippides, if we can trust Pausanias' dating of their statues; this focus on motherhood is alien to Sparta and the areas influenced by Sparta. As a consequence, we were encouraged to inquire the reasons behind these diverging traits and suggested a possible origin in the historical and geographical development of the myth; in fact, I propose that to a common, Dorian origin followed different evolutions in different contexts, thus creating separate "families" or branches of our myth. Finally, we hypothesised a wedding between the Dioscuri and the Leucippides in Argos, a tradition well attested in Athens and later sources, but not as much in the Peloponnese.

3.3. *Delphi: Siphnos*

Our exploration of the Leucippides in the Greek world brings us now to the heart of continental Greece. The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi was one of the largest and most influential centres of Panhellenic culture. Here, people from all over the Greek world converged, shared experiences, knowledge and stories, and represented themselves in front of the rest of the civilised world.

As it is, unfortunately, common in many geographical contexts, the traces of the presence of the Leucippides are feeble and predominantly based on hypothetical identifications. Nevertheless, the possibility of finding them in such a context could prove significant from at least two points of view: first, as the expression of *local* identities in front of a *Panhellenic* audience, and secondly, as the reaction of a *Panhellenic* culture to the entrance and diffusion in it of *local* traditions. Therefore, our attention will focus on the myth of the Leucippides in Delphi from the point of view of the communities who could have chosen this story as part of their representation in the sanctuary, and from the internal point of view of the sanctuary itself, as both a Panhellenic melting pot of traditions and a local community of its own.

As expected, the presence of the Leucippides only reflects their role as abducted companions of the Dioscuri also in Delphi. The Dioscuri in this context are well known and will not need much explanation. On the other hand, the Leucippides have been scarcely considered so far and will offer some interesting suggestions.

The material sources discussed here all stood in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, where the Dioscuri were undoubtedly well known to a Panhellenic audience. For instance, Pausanias (10.3.3 and 10.3.8) attests the existence of a cult of the Dioscuri as Anakes (the same title as they received in their Athenian and Argive cults) in Charadra and Amphissa, not far from Delphi. Unfortunately, as is often the case with Pausanias, it is not possible to establish how far back these cults went. Epigraphic evidence has also proved the existence of a festival in Delphi dedicated to the Dioscuri in the first half of the fourth century, but it was possibly introduced as early as the end of the sixth century BC.⁷² Pausanias (10.9.7) also saw statues of the Dioscuri offered by the Spartans from the spoils of the Athenians.⁷³ Numerous studies in the second half of the last century have also actively tried to re-evaluate the identity of the so-called “Cleobis and Biton” statues found at Delphi.⁷⁴ These two monumental *kouroi* have long been identified as the two Argive heroes on the testimony of Herodotus.⁷⁵ However, a closer analysis of the dedications engraved on the bodies of the two statues has brought both Vatin and Faure separately to suggest their identification as the Dioscuri.⁷⁶ More precisely, Faure also suggested that the two statues, found on either side of an unidentified foundation (known as Treasury 228), could have belonged to a *naiskos* of the Dioscuri.⁷⁷ Both statues are signed by Argive sculptors and were probably dedicated by the Argives at the beginning of the sixth century BC.

This short overview has shown that the Dioscuri were present in Delphi, both in local cults (Charadra and Amphissa, the festival) and as a reflection of their cult in

⁷² It is attested in the so-called stele of the Labyadai (*CID* 1.9 – first half of the fourth century BC). However, a fragmentary inscription (*CID* 1.9 bis), possibly dated to the second half of the sixth century BC, seems to contain the same text and should be the original version of the Labyadai regulation. Cf. *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*, 34, 58-60, 86-88.

⁷³ Pausanias 10.9.8. He refers to the “monument of the navarchs”, dedicated by the Spartans after the battle of Aegospotami. Cf. Jacquemin 1999, 191 and 338 (n. 322).

⁷⁴ Cf. Jacquemin 1999, 172 and 314 (n. 71 and 72).

⁷⁵ Herodotus 1.31.

⁷⁶ Vatin 1982 and Faure 1985. Supporting evidence also in Hall 1995, 595-596.

⁷⁷ Faure 1985, 63. Laroche and Nenna 1992, 122-124 are unconvinced.

other cities (Athens, Sparta, Argos). We shall now consider the Leucippides. Only one archaeological source has been connected to the Leucippides so far: the South frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. The identification of the scene is still highly controversial, but the abduction of the Leucippides can be suggested convincingly, particularly if seen against the backdrop of the cult of the Dioscuri in Delphi and the presence of the Leucippides in the other geographical contexts considered so far (i.e. Sparta, Argos and Magna Graecia).

On a secondary note, it is worth mentioning that the abduction of the Leucippides, although not preserved, might have rightfully belonged to the decoration of the Sicyonian Treasury, too, given the predominant presence of the Dioscuri in the preserved fragments and the possible origin of the building itself, as recent studies have suggested that the Monopteros that originally hosted the reliefs of the Treasury could have belonged to Locri.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, we shall not dwell on such hypotheses, given the absence of any concrete evidence concerning the Leucippides.

⁷⁸ De La Genière 1983 and 1986. Her attribution is based on a series of observations: metopes are rare in the Peloponnese before the temple of Zeus at Olympia, while they are already common in the Western colonies; the abduction of Europa is a common motif only in Western colonies; the Spartan (or Argive, as the Dioscuri were worshipped there, too) tone of the decorations does not fit Sicyon but would require a polis politically closer to Sparta and in which the cult of the Dioscuri was already well established; other Western colonies were already present in the sanctuary of Apollo in the first half of the sixth century BC (Sybaris, Croton, Metapontum and Taras). Cf. also Ridgway 1991, 99.

3.3.1. *The Siphnian Treasury*

The first source we shall consider is the South frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (fig. 22-26), built in the second half of the sixth century BC.⁷⁹ The Treasury was decorated with a frieze on each side.⁸⁰ The best preserved is the North side, on which a Gigantomachy is easily recognisable. The other sides of the frieze are more fragmentary, and the identification of the scenes depicted is less certain. The West frieze probably had the Judgment of Paris, and the East frieze represented an assembly of gods overseeing the battle over the body of a fallen warrior.⁸¹

The South frieze is the most damaged, so its interpretation is still a debated issue. To be sure, it is a scene of abduction. The frieze is divided into fragments, traditionally identified by letters. On block K (fig. 22), we recognise a horseman, slowly and majestically proceeding to the right. He certainly opened the scene, since the right side of the block is the side of the S-E corner of the frieze.⁸² He leads a spare horse by his side. A similar horseman can be found on block L (fig. 23), followed by a chariot, of which only the horses and reins are preserved. Another chariot stands by an altar in block M (fig. 24); its horses are completely preserved, but only a leg and an arm of the charioteer remain. The position of the preserved limbs seems to suggest that he is either stepping onto the chariot or out of it. It is not possible to recognise if he holds an abducted girl in his arms or how he interacts with the rest of the scene. The preserved abduction is on block N (fig. 25), where a male character lifts a girl in his arms while stepping onto his chariot.⁸³ Finally, a last fragment remains; block O (fig. 26) depicts

⁷⁹ LIMC, s.v. Dioskouroi, 207. De La Coste-Messelière 1969, 744-746 dates it to the period between 545 and 500 BC.

⁸⁰ De La Coste-Messelière recognised traces of painted names during excavations, in particular on the East and North sides, but they completely disappeared when the frieze was buried in 1940 in order to save it from the bombing (cf. de La Coste-Messelière 1944). Brinckmann 1994 was able to read those inscriptions again through the use of infrared and macro-photography. No traces were ever visible on the South frieze (Picard-de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 126).

⁸¹ This scene has long been identified as an “Iliadic” scene; the inscriptions recognised by Brinckmann 1994 allowed for a final identification of the scene as Achilles and Memnon fighting over the body of Antilochus.

⁸² Daux and de La Coste-Messelière 1927, 45; Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 117.

⁸³ Homolle 1894, 189 recognised the man as bearded; this would be extremely useful to verify, as abductions are typically acted out by younger men. Only Hades is usually a bearded (i.e. more mature) abductor, but the abduction of Persephone would be quite out of place in such a crowded scene. On the other hand, the Spartan Dioscuri are often depicted as bearded warriors, which would make for a very productive connection, although difficult to justify. Neer 2001, 322 is completely astray when pointing out a “prominent” phallus.

a female head turned back to the right. Modern scholars have seen faint traces of another head, on the left of the woman, behind her right shoulder.⁸⁴ The identification with the abduction of the Leucippides has been repeatedly suggested since the discovery of the relief, but scholars have also proposed other identifications, although none was ever convincing enough to close the discussion on the topic.⁸⁵

Given the fragmentary status of the frieze and the loss of identifying inscriptions, it seems impossible to recognise the scene with certainty; therefore, no conclusion should be considered indisputable or final. The aim of the following analysis is, instead, to collect and discuss the supporting evidence of the identification with the Leucippides and to verify its reliability against the backdrop presented by this work. The most critical points that suggest the Leucippides can be summarised as follows: the presence of (at least) two chariots (for two Dioscuri), the fact that one girl has already been abducted and is already in a chariot, while another still tries to escape (if we assume that the female turned head belongs to a girl who runs from an abductor and not to a generic, fleeing companion),⁸⁶ and the altar, which suggests that the abduction takes place in a sanctuary, as extremely common in vase depictions of the same scene.⁸⁷ Depictions of two abductions at the same time, in the same scene, are very rare; all of them represent the Leucippides.

⁸⁴ Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 124-125. Daux and Hansen 1987, 178 and Neer 2001, 322 are among the few who considered those traces.

⁸⁵ Homolle 1896, 586 first suggested the identification with the Leucippides. De La Coste-Messelière 1950, 25 and 1970, 360-388 takes this reading in consideration, but is more inclined towards the chariot race of Pelops for the hand of Hippodameia. However, he places much emphasis on the identification of the altar on block M with the altar of Olympia, where the scene should take place, apparently forgetting that the Treasury stood in Delphi and not in Olympia (1970, 385-388). Anyhow, the emphasis on chariots makes this identification the most likely in case the double abduction of the Leucippides was rejected. Watrous 1982, 169-171 suggests Theseus' abduction of Helen, but the iconographic type does not seem to match, as the abduction is supposed to take place in a sanctuary. Vasić 1984, 35 proposes Helen's abduction by Paris, which can be inserted thematically between the Judgment of Paris and the Iliadic scene but does not seem to fit any of the criteria for the identification and leaves the Gigantomachy strangely isolated. Finally, Brinckmann 1994 suggests the abduction of Persephone by Hades but, in his reading, both characters would appear twice in the scene, which is not acceptable for an Archaic depiction.

⁸⁶ In fact, in many cases the two abductions are depicted at different stages; one Dioscurus is already on the chariot with one abducted girl, while the other one still pursues a girl or lifts her in his arms and takes her to his chariot. Cf. section 4.4.2.

⁸⁷ Cf. section 4.5 for abductions in sanctuaries. Neer 2001, 323 points this out too. However, he also believes that the predominant presence of horses on the frieze should be connected to the Dioscuri as riders par excellence.

The real question, however, is not whether the double abduction represents the Leucippides or not, but if the scene depicts a double abduction at all. In the first case, the identification with the abduction of the Leucippides should be considered certain, as a convincing alternative has never been found. Alternative readings of the scene depend exclusively on the rejection of the existence of another abduction, parallel to the one taking place on block N. Unfortunately, much depends on the lost parts of the frieze, and the preserved parts do not offer univocal answers. Anyhow, a second abduction can be restored and, even more interestingly, the other characters and peculiarities of the scene find relevant parallels in other depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides, as we shall see.

Block N is the only unproblematic part of the frieze, as it clearly depicts an abduction, with the abductor stepping onto his chariot while holding the abducted girl around her waist with an arm. The precise position and composition of a hypothetical second abduction are, instead, more problematic. The woman fragmentarily preserved in O runs in the opposite direction of all the other characters and turns her head backwards, which makes a strong point for her escape. This is, in fact, a typical gesture of the escaping maiden, who turns her head back in the direction of her pursuer.⁸⁸ At the current state of the findings, it is not possible to identify without a doubt the faint traces of another head behind her; if it could be recognised as a male head, the identification with the second abductor, who could either be on the chariot by the altar (block M) or be entirely lost, would be incontrovertible. However, if it were a female head, it should be recognised as a fleeing companion; this would somehow weaken the idea of a double abduction, as two girls running away side by side should probably be two companions of the abducted girl in block N, but the possibility of an abducted girl in the foreground and a companion in the background should not be rejected *a priori*.

The remaining foot and the outstretched hand of the character on block M (as if holding the reins) suggest that he is either stepping onto or dismounting from the chariot;⁸⁹ in the latter case, he could be the other abductor, who dismounts from his chariot and reaches out towards the running girl in O.⁹⁰ However, a possibility that has

⁸⁸ Cf. vase depictions in chapter 4.

⁸⁹ Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 122.

⁹⁰ However, small differences between his chariot and horses on one side, and the chariot and horses of the abductor of block N on the other have suggested to Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928 that he

been generally overlooked is that the second abductor should not necessarily have his own chariot either.⁹¹ As we shall see, it is not uncommon in the case of the abduction of the Leucippides to have the two abductions depicted at different stages. One abductor already stands in or steps onto his chariot with his prey while the other still pursues an escaping girl, has just grasped her or lifts her off the ground. A chariot-less abductor would solve the problem of the limited space available in-between the preserved fragments, which spoke against the recognition of a lost second abduction.

Another question concerns the characters who appear on blocks K and L. It seems certain that they belong to the same group, and scholars traditionally place the two blocks side by side.⁹² All characters seem to belong to a procession that is coming to an abrupt halt due to the abduction taking place in its middle or rear.⁹³ The abduction happens by an altar (block M). To be sure, the altar is not a decorative detail but must have had a specific meaning for the identification of the scene, given its central position. The contemporary presence of an altar and a procession has suggested the identification of the scene with a wedding procession in a sanctuary, even though altars are not necessary nor common elements of wedding processions.⁹⁴ Picard and de La Coste-Messelière already suggested that the scene represented a ritual abduction as part of a wedding: the abduction-wedding of the Dioscuri and the Leucippides.⁹⁵ A wedding by abduction was known in Sparta and found its model in the abduction of the Leucippides.⁹⁶

is not an abductor, but belongs to the group of K and L, i.e. the charioteer of M is just another member of the procession, who possibly has stopped his chariot and dismounts now to react to the abduction. This is theoretically possible but does not explain his central position in the composition. Also, the differences between the chariots in N and M can be explained in a number of other ways, such as different models or even sculptors; in particular, only a comparison with the lost chariot in L would prove whether there was a difference between the chariot(s) of the abductor(s) and the chariot(s) of the other members of the procession.

⁹¹ A common critique to this interpretation is, in fact, that there is not enough space for another chariot.

⁹² Daux and de La Coste-Messelière 1927, 48-50; Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 118.

⁹³ The horses on K have already slowed down to a walking pace, while the horses (and chariot) on L are depicted in the process of slowing down from a gallop. Cf. Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 118. Also, de La Coste-Messelière, 1970, 362-371 has no doubt in recognising a festive procession, as suggested by the richly decorated harnesses of the horses.

⁹⁴ Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 128-129.

⁹⁵ Picard and de La Coste-Messelière 1928, 129.

⁹⁶ The wedding of the Leucippides to the Dioscuri was also known in Argos (which had a considerable influence on the cult of the Dioscuri in Delphi, as we have seen) and in Athens, where the abduction was commonly depicted as a wedding. In particular, the parallel with Athenian models would justify the presence of other chariots, as in a wedding (Oakley and Sinos 1993, 29-30); "chariots and horsemen followed in depictions of upper-class wedding processions" (Dodson-Robinson 2010, 13).

On the other hand, a religious procession connected to a festival could work equally well as the background for an abduction. As already discussed, religious festivals offered one of the few occasions for a Greek woman to be out in the open and in the middle of a crowd, and many abductions, both in myth and in literature, happened during festivals.⁹⁷ The abduction of the Leucippides does not seem to happen during a festival in any of our sources, but a suggestive parallel can be drawn with the heroon of Trysa.⁹⁸ The exact dynamics of the scene are debated, but many traits point to a religious festival too.

This analysis has shown that the identification of the scene as the abduction of the Leucippides, even though not universally accepted nor indisputably provable, is well-grounded and allows for suggestive connections from the geographical and cultural point of view. If the frieze depicts the abduction of the Leucippides, however, we should wonder why the Siphnians would choose such a topic.⁹⁹ The question stems from the fact that Siphnos is an island of the Cyclades, of Ionian culture, but the episode of the abduction seems to be deeply rooted in the Dorian world (as seen so far); therefore, it is less expected in an Ionian context.¹⁰⁰ The identification of the abduction of the Leucippides on a Siphnian building of the fifth century BC would be the only attestation of this episode in this period in the Greek East, which represents the main obstacle to the recognition of the scene.

The Greek East, in fact, remained apparently insulated from the movements of the Leucippides, as their abduction is not attested before the Heroon of Trysa (fourth century BC). The systematic presence of the Dioscuri at a later stage and their occasional appearances at earlier dates make us strongly suspect an early diffusion of their myth in the Aegean islands, too, at least in some partial form. Whether this myth involved the Leucippides or not, however, remains open to debate. The early Eastern Dioscuri, in fact, seem quite different from their Peloponnesian embodiments; for instance, their divine traits are dominant, and their protection focuses on seafarers (e.g. *Homeric Hymns* 17 and 33).

⁹⁷ Cf. section 1.2.1.

⁹⁸ Cf. section 1.2.1.

⁹⁹ De La Coste-Messelière 1970, 15 suggests that all the scenes belong to a Panhellenic repertoire of illustrious stories but does not consider the marginal position of the Leucippides in it.

¹⁰⁰ Already Homolle 1896, 598 pointed out that the subjects chosen for the decoration showed a strong Peloponnesian influence, although he believed this to be the Cnidian Treasury.

Without any direct parallel, it is unadvisable and even unfeasible to pursue the possible origin and meaning of the abduction of the Leucippides in fifth-century Siphnos. However, some hypotheses on the cultural influences operating on Siphnos in this period can be cautiously proposed. First, we have Athens, where we know that a temple of the Dioscuri was restored only about fifty years later than the building of the Treasury here considered.¹⁰¹ In it, there were statues of the Dioscuri with their sons, and the marriage of the Leucippides was depicted too. It is highly probable that the temple existed before this date, but we do not know if the Leucippides were already present in it. Secondly, there is Samos, which had a close political and economic relationship with Sparta in the Archaic period and was one of the most powerful and therefore influential islands in the Aegean Sea, which could have imported the stories connected to the Dioscuri from Sparta and spread them to its neighbouring islands.¹⁰² Finally, exciting suggestions also come from Paros.¹⁰³ Archilochus' homeland of Paros is the closest island to Siphnos, and an island of Dorian culture, strongly influenced by Peloponnesian and Spartan traditions.¹⁰⁴ We should also mention that scholars have identified a strong Parian influence on the building.¹⁰⁵ Parian masons, architects and, probably, sculptors were involved in the project.¹⁰⁶ It seems unlikely that artists, rather than patrons, could have directly decided on the decorative programme of a building; however, it is possible to suggest that skilled workers moved together with the models and themes with which they were familiar, and those could have looked particularly alluring to a context that was otherwise poor in artistic traditions. More generally, this

¹⁰¹ Pausanias, 1.18.1 (T15). Cf. section 4.2.1.

¹⁰² Jeffery and Cartledge 1982 consider literary sources (Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus for Spartan interventions in favour of Samos) and archaeological evidence (Laconian pottery found in Samos and Eastern influences on Laconian art). Archaic Sparta, especially in the sixth century BC, was well connected with Egypt (Naucratis), the Near East, the Greek Ionia (e.g. Magnesia on the Meander, from which came Bathykles, the artist responsible for the throne of Apollo in Amyklai) and the Aegean islands, the influence of which on and from Laconian art has been well studied in the past (e.g. Pipili 1998, 84-86; Prost 2017, 168). Cf. also Hibler 1993, 199-200; Pipili 1998, 85; Vlizos 2009, 13; Prost 2017, 165-166. An Ionian, Bathykles of Magnesia, is said to have designed the throne of Apollo at Amyklai (Pausanias 3.18.11). Pausanias (3.12.10) also attests that Theodoros of Samos (active in the middle of the sixth century BC) designed an assembly building called Skias in Sparta.

¹⁰³ On the cultural and artistic connections between Paros and Siphnos, cf. also Holtzmann 1977.

¹⁰⁴ Just to mention an excellent and recent example, cf. Aloni-Iannucci 2007.

¹⁰⁵ Holtzmann 1977; Neer 2001, 291.

¹⁰⁶ In particular, the frieze (and also the epistyle) are made of Parian marble, which could at least suggest a direct involvement of Parian sculptors. Cf. Bommelaer 1991, 214-215, who also suggests that the Siphnians might have never developed their own art, but always resorted to artists from other cities (e.g. Paros).

artistic influence proves the existence of some cultural bond between Siphnos and Paros.

It should be noted that all conclusions on the topic are highly speculative. It is not possible to prove with absolute certainty that the abduction of the Leucippides was depicted on the Siphnian Treasury, nor can univocal proof of the cultural influences on Siphnos be found. However, it is possible to propose good working hypotheses. This section aimed to prove that the presence of the Leucippides in the decoration of the Siphnian Treasury is a viable option since the iconographic traits of the South frieze can be successfully compared to other depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides in Sparta, Argos, Athens and the Aegean area. The origins of these connections are hypothetical, but a series of cultural bonds tying Siphnos, Sparta, Athens, Argos and Delphi to each other can be suggested. It is through these channels that the abduction of the Leucippides could have spread to Siphnos.

To conclude, the sanctuary of Delphi, the *omphalos* of the world, is a privileged object of study for Archaic culture and traditions. People from all over the Greek-speaking world came to Delphi to consult the oracle, to participate in the *agones*, to share knowledge and to display their devotion through the richest dedications in the richest buildings.¹⁰⁷ Archaic Delphi was the ideal showcase of local traditions and their relations to their Panhellenic counterparts.

Though they are barely present in this context, the Leucippides can be successfully analysed as part both of the broader phenomenon of the cult of the Dioscuri and of the specific traditions of the cities that built treasuries in Delphi. In particular, this second line of research has proved particularly fruitful. In fact, the most likely presence of the Leucippides is on the South frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. On a superficial analysis, the Cycladic island appears wholly removed from the Archaic expansion of the myth of the Dioscuri, but thanks to a more articulated and thorough investigation, a web of interrelations emerges, connecting Siphnos to Peloponnesian traditions though Paros, Samos and Athens. Indeed, the choice of this specific episode to be on Siphnos' "business card" in Delphi presents a significant challenge in its

¹⁰⁷ It is worth to remind, with De La Coste-Messelière 1970, 16, that the sculptors involved in the decoration of both the Siphnian and the Sicyonian Treasuries are not ordinary artists, but the very best masters of the Archaic age.

contextualisation. Possibly, the theme was particularly popular with the Parian sculptors who inspired (and probably realised) the frieze; otherwise, we might suggest a specific desire of the city to be brought together with other cities (e.g. Samos and Athens, as discussed above) where the story was well known, but the historical evidence is lacking. Perhaps, we should simply understand the scene as a competitive reply to the same or a similar scene on the Monopteros, chosen to prove in front of the whole Greek world the superior craftsmanship of the Eastern island.

To sum up, our detour to Delphi proved invaluable in probing the expansion of the myth of the Leucippides in the Eastern islands (not otherwise attested), its diffusion through geographical, commercial and cultural channels, and its use in a Panhellenic context.

3.4. Apulia-Taras

There is still one missing piece to consider in our geographical excursion. Starting from Sparta, we moved to Southern Italy and back to Greece and Argos; then we followed the traces of the Leucippides to Delphi, and from there, we moved eastward, to Siphnos. The possible presence of a Locrian treasury in Delphi has brought us back to Magna Graecia, where we started this chapter and where is most appropriate to conclude our tour, as we shall see. In the previous sections, Taras was often mentioned; given the relevance of the Dioscuri in Sparta, the only Spartan colony must have played a pivotal part in the diffusion of the Spartan myth of the Leucippides in Southern Italy, but also as far as Rome. Unfortunately, our Tarantine sources for the abduction of the Leucippides are considerably later than the others considered in this chapter so far. Therefore, it seemed more appropriate to deal with them at the end of our survey, separately from the other instances from Magna Graecia.

3.4.1. Introduction

Founded at the very end of the eighth century (706 BC, according to the sources)¹⁰⁸, Taras was one of the oldest colonies in Southern Italy. Even though colonies usually developed independently from their motherland, Taras always maintained a close relationship with Sparta not only politically, but also culturally. As we shall see, we find pottery imports, common cults and political organisation, regular instances of military help and alliances, just to name some examples. Since the Tarantine sources that deal with the Leucippides are later than the other sources considered so far, some introductory remarks on the cultural *milieu* of the city will prove useful in contextualising the late appearance of our relevant sources.

When dealing with Locri and Rhegion, we paid particular attention to their foundation stories in order to pinpoint what influenced the colonies at their origins and to find an explanation for their later cultural developments. In Taras' case, we shall not need to analyse every detail of its foundation stories, as it is well known that the polis was a Spartan colony.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, some points of its foundation story deserve attention, as they suggest interesting connections with other cities considered in our previous analysis. It is important to stress, here more than ever, that foundation stories should not be taken as a faithful historical account of the events, but as an indicator of the historical memory of a society and of its cultural (and often political) orientations in a precise moment after the foundation.¹¹⁰ This clarification is vital because the aim of this chapter as a whole is not to reconstruct the exact historical moments of these colonies' foundations but to extrapolate from these stories any useful element regarding the cultural influences exerted on the colonies during the Archaic period. Whether they be real or invented in a later phase, those influences were felt as meaningful by the local society. With these premises in mind, we shall turn our attention to the foundation story of Taras.

¹⁰⁸ The date offered by Eusebius is compatible with the order of the foundations in Antiochus (in Strabo 6.262-264) and Diodorus 8.17-23. On the trustworthiness of these dates and their relation to Thucydides' dates of the Sicilian foundations, cf. Dunbabin 1948, 439-471.

¹⁰⁹ Ancient reports of Taras' foundation, as we shall see, all agree on the topic; modern studies and archaeological evidence have confirmed this statement.

¹¹⁰ E.g. Dougherty 1993, 15.

There are two main versions of the story, which diverge slightly from each other.¹¹¹ In both cases, the city was founded by a Laconian group of “Partheniai” at the time of the First Messenian War (743-724 BC, according to Pausanias 4.5.9 and 4.13.7).¹¹² Discontent with their lack of civil right, the Partheniai organised a revolt led by Phalanthos, but the plot was discovered. The Partheniai, therefore, left Sparta and founded Taras. For Antiochus, the Partheniai were the sons of (Laconian) helots, who had been enslaved for not taking part in the Messenian War. For Ephorus, they were the sons of unmarried girls and young Spartans, born to resolve the *oligandria* that befell Sparta during the long years of the Messenian War.¹¹³ However, being born out of wedlock, they were later denied their civil rights.¹¹⁴

Some considerations follow. First, both versions have in common the lesser origin of the settlers: in one case, sons of slaves, in the other, illegitimate sons of citizens. In any case, the Partheniai were a homogeneous group of disenfranchised individuals. However, they were all Laconians, possibly even Spartans. In fact, no discredit befell them, despite their inferior status and attempted rebellion.¹¹⁵ We notice here that “helots” already existed before the subjugation of Messenia, and therefore were *Laconian* citizens who somehow lost their civil rights. No matter the version, the Tarantine settlers are traditionally believed to be properly Laconian (whether they be helots or Spartan *nothoi*). Therefore, we can expect that those settlers brought to Taras

¹¹¹ The first written accounts of the two traditions known to us are in Antiochus (555 *FGrHist* 13) and Ephorus (70 *FGrHist* 216), both reported by Strabo (6.3.2-3). The differences between the two versions are enough to suggest different oral traditions and not the personal intervention of one historian on the text of the other (as proposed by Moscati Castelnovo 1991, 75).

¹¹² Naturally, those dates cannot be considered completely trustworthy; nevertheless, archaeological surveys suggest a dating very close to Pausanias’ calculations: c. 730-710 BC. In fact, Taras was founded after the end of the war, and Eusebius’ date of 706 BC is compatible with the earliest Greek pottery found on site (Coldstream 2003, 163 and 239). The polis of Asine was destroyed in c. 710 BC (as confirmed by the destruction level of the city, e.g. Coldstream 2003, 154 and 163) by the Argives because the Asinaeans supported Sparta in the final phase of the war. Therefore, the war had already ended in c. 706 BC, but was in its final phases in c. 710 BC; we know that the war lasted about 20 years, so the dating of c. 730-710 BC is probably very close to reality.

¹¹³ The literal meaning of the name *Partheniai* is clear in Ephorus: sons of *parthenoi*, i.e. unmarried girls. In Antiochus, the connections to the helots is obscure and probably depends on some lost details of the story. Moscati Castelnovo 1991, 73 suggests that the name was a derogative term for the cowardly behaviour of their fathers, but this connotation is completely foreign to the Greek.

¹¹⁴ According to Antiochus, the Partheniai fled Sparta spontaneously and were advised by the Delphic Oracle on the right place to found a colony; according to Ephorus, it was the Spartans themselves who persuaded their illegitimate sons to renounce their revolt and found a colony in Southern Italy. A thorough analysis of differences and similarities in Hall 2008, 412-417.

¹¹⁵ E.g. Graham 1999, 7.

the old traditions of their mother city, in their properly Laconian form, as they existed in the late eighth century BC.¹¹⁶ Naturally, this cannot be directly proved, since our oldest sources come from the late sixth century. However, the material sources show that Taras shared many traits of its artistic and religious culture with Sparta, from the very beginning of its existence. Starting from the seventh century BC, Taras imported massive amounts of Laconian pottery;¹¹⁷ from the sixth century onwards, we have evidence proving that Taras shared many typical features of Spartan culture,¹¹⁸ such as the kingship and the ephorate,¹¹⁹ the Doric dialect and alphabet, and the cult of Apollo Hyacinthius and of the Dioscuri.¹²⁰ This last point is, obviously, the most meaningful to us; it attests that the Dioscuri were known and worshipped in Taras at least from the same period as in Locri, possibly even before that. We shall come back to this point.

On the same topic, the cult of Apollo Hyacinthius is also a promising trail to follow. In the chapter on Sparta, we traced some connections between the Hyacinthia festival and the Leucippides. Since Taras imported this cult from Sparta, there is a distinct possibility that knowledge of the Leucippides travelled with it, although the Leucippides did not leave any tangible trace before the fourth century BC. We cannot say whether this cult arrived with the very first settlers or during the seventh or even sixth century, when the sanctuary of Apollo in Amyklai was renovated with the construction of the Throne; in any case, the cult of Apollo Hyacinthius belongs to the oldest kernel of cults in Taras.¹²¹ If there is a core of truth in the foundation story, the cult of Apollo at Amyklai or the village of Amyklai itself probably had a particular

¹¹⁶ A more extreme position can be found in Pugliese Carratelli 1965, who believes that many cultural and cultic traits of Southern Italian colonies can be traced back to a “pre-colonial” period or even to the Mycenaean age.

¹¹⁷ Dunbabin 1948, 31; Carter 1975, 7; Brauer 1986, 12; Nafissi 2009, 246. Graham 1999, 13 suggests that Taras was also influenced by Spartan sculpture and architecture in the late archaic period.

¹¹⁸ Graham 1999, 14-15 calls all these traditions *nomima* (after Thucydides’ definition) and considers them vital in determining the origins of a colony: “... cults, calendar, dialect, script, state offices and citizen divisions” (15).

¹¹⁹ Dunbabin 1948, 93. On the existence of a Spartan-style king, cf. Herodotus 3.136; the ephorate is not attested directly in Taras, but in its colony Heraclea (e.g. *IG* XIV.645a). Cf. Brauer 1986, 11-12.

¹²⁰ Carter 1975, 7; Hall 2008, 418-421. Hall suggests that Laconians *could* have been among the original settlers, but Taras became a properly “Spartan” colony only from the “later Archaic period”, i.e. the sixth century (421). Since our sources also on Sparta before the sixth century are extremely fragmentary, we shall consider the sixth century an acceptable starting point for our inquiry on the earliest attestations of the Leucippides. Cf. also Nafissi 2009, 247-249.

¹²¹ Late sixth century coins depict a running boy with a lyre and a flower, usually identified with Hyacinthus (Nafissi 2009, 255).

meaning for the Partheniai.¹²² In fact, the revolt of the Partheniai had been centred at Amyklai and took place during the Hyacinthia. If this detail entered the story at a different stage (no later than the middle of the sixth century, as we shall see), it would be equally meaningful, as we should read it as a sign that, by that time, the cult of Apollo Hyacinthius was so deeply embedded in Taras to be connected to the moment of the foundation of the city, while still maintaining a clear perception of its Spartan origin. Certainly, Apollo had a privileged position in the foundation of the city; in the same version of the story that speaks about the Hyacinthia festival, the Partheniai consulted the oracle of Delphi to learn what to do and where to go, after their conspiracy had been exposed. Delphic Apollo gave them the land where to found their new city.¹²³

Naturally, these stories cannot be blindly trusted as historical sources, but we should at least consider their antiquity, which brings them close enough to the foundation of the city to be of some use to this study. Obviously, the oldest version must predate Antiochus (second half of the fifth century), who is the first to attest it.¹²⁴ However, in the section on Locri, we suggested that the Locrian foundation story was modelled after Taras' foundation story (in Ephorus' version) to create an ideological identification between the two cities. Consequently, Taras' story must predate its Locrian counterpart, which could have been reasonably created at the time of the first alliance between the two cities, in the middle of the sixth century.¹²⁵ In this case, Taras' foundation story would only be about a century more recent than the foundation of Taras itself; it might still be too long a period to expect an entirely historical report,

¹²² Moscati Castelnovo 1991, 66-68 suggests that the first settlers of Taras were dissatisfied Amyklaians, who had not been properly absorbed in Sparta. However, it seems suspicious that the Tarantines would have called their ancestors Spartans, if they actually came from a proudly different background (i.e. the "pre-Dorian" Amyklaians). More likely is Nafissi's hypothesis, as follows. The festival of the Hyacinthia was connected with the conquest of Amyklai and therefore the "unification" of Laconia; through the importation of this cult, "the colonists emphasized their military virtue, which the conquest of their new home had shown not inferior to that of their parents and ancestors" (Nafissi 2009, 257).

¹²³ It is only natural, therefore, that the Tarantines had a Treasury in Delphi.

¹²⁴ Brauer 1986, 4 suggests cautiously that this version, as the earlier of the two, might also be the most trustworthy.

¹²⁵ To be sure, a foundation story involving Phalanthos existed at least from the late sixth century, when he is depicted as a dolphin-rider on a series of coins (Nafissi 2009, 255). Nafissi suggests that a version of the foundation story must have existed in the sixth century, and already involved the Partheniai, Phalanthos and the Messenian Wars.

but the story is ancient enough to say something about the remotest existence of the city and its political and cultural identity.¹²⁶

To conclude this introduction, Taras is not only a Spartan colony, but also a polis that maintained a privileged relationship with Sparta throughout its history; clear signs of cultural affinity can be recognised from the seventh century onwards in the archaeological remains, but historiography and foundation stories also point in the same direction. It is generally accepted that the early Spartan colonists brought to Taras the myths and cults with whom they were familiar; it is assumed that the Dioscuri belonged to this first cultural wave, but the information is scanty until the fifth century BC.¹²⁷ The scarcity of sources makes any supposition concerning the antiquity of the Tarantine Leucippides riskier, although the attested presence of the Dioscuri and Apollo Hyacinthius, both probably connected to the Leucippides in Sparta, seems to suggest an archaic date for them, too.

3.4.2. *The Dioscuri*

From the late fifth century BC, Tarantine terracotta production went through a sudden growth; it is in this context and form that we find the most substantial number of attestations of interest to us. The Leucippides are, as usual, our focus; however, their existence outside Sparta is strictly interwoven with that of the Dioscuri, as repeatedly noted. Therefore, a quick overview of the depictions of the Dioscuri in the Tarantine context is in order, as it will offer some collateral information such as the timescale, types and cultural background with whom we shall deal. After that, we shall move back to the abduction of the Leucippides with an increased understanding of the artistic and cultural background in which they make their appearance in Taras.

The largest number of artistic finds in Taras come from votive deposits and consist of *pinakes*. These terracotta tablets, of local production, are mould decorated

¹²⁶ Moscati Castelnovo 1991, 68 seems astray in her belief that both Antiochus and Ephorus had invented, completely out of nowhere, and with no signs of uncertainty, the stories on the origin of the settlers of Taras. Her hypothesis disregards the date of foundation of the colony (confirmed by the archaeological evidence), the cultural relevance of these foundation stories to both Sparta and Taras, and the antiquity of the stories themselves.

¹²⁷ E.g. Brauer 1986, 11.

and consecrated to some divinity in a sacred space as an act of devotion. In Taras, 64 votive deposits have been found so far; of these, 18 produced fragments of *pinakes* depicting the Dioscuri, but in only three cases is the Dioscuri's presence consistent enough to suggest their specific cult in those sites.¹²⁸ The Dioscuri's *pinakes* usually depict the twin gods inside their *naiskos* with an altar and their typical Spartan attributes: two identical amphorae, the *dokana*, horses or horse protomes.¹²⁹ The production of these *pinakes* is concentrated between the second half of the fourth century and the first decades of the third century BC.¹³⁰ Episodes from the myth are limited in number, with the majority of depictions referring to a purely cultic context, probably a *theoxenia* – a sacred banquet – as the typical form of cult reserved to the Dioscuri.¹³¹ These traits find their antecedents in Spartan models;¹³² therefore, it is possible to suggest a direct connection between the sixth-century reliefs from Sparta and the fourth-century *pinakes* from Taras. It seems likely that the Tarantine colonists imported this cult from Sparta during the Archaic period, if not at the very foundation of the settlement, despite the absence of early attestations. The middle of the fourth century BC marks an increase in the depictions of the Dioscuri in Taras, possibly following the renewed relationship with the mother city through Archidamus' and Cleonymus' involvement.¹³³ In particular, Lippolis suggests that the direct

¹²⁸ Chiesa del Carmine and Contrada Solito, Pizzone, Fondo Giovinazzo (Iacobone 1988, 163-166, 171). Cf. also Lippolis 1982, 116-117; Lippolis-Garraffo-Nafissi 1995, 49, 91, 117; Lippolis 2009, 120-125.

¹²⁹ Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, 313; Lippolis 2009, 126-128. On the *dokana*, described as two parallel wooden beams connected by a perpendicular one, cf. Plutarch, *De fraterno amore*, 478b; *Etymologicon Magnum* s.v. δόκανα; Guarducci 1979. The two amphorae are often depicted on votive stelae in Sparta; according to e.g. Lippolis 2009, 137-140 they are aniconic representations of the two gods and do not serve a specific purpose in the *theoxenia*. Horses and horse protomes signify the Dioscuri's identity as riders and are connected to their Indo-European origin as the Divine Twins. Naturally, depictions of horses are not necessarily connected to the Dioscuri. The Dioscuri are often depicted with (or as) horses, but not all horses refer to the Dioscuri; more generally, they symbolise a man's noble status.

¹³⁰ Guarducci 1979, 90-92, 96 suggests that some (unspecified) elements of this terracotta production could be dated to a more remote period than the fourth century.

¹³¹ Lippolis 2009, 131-133, 136-137.

¹³² Giannelli 1963, 38-39; Lippolis 2009, 146-148.

¹³³ In 343 BC, Taras asked the Spartans for help in its war against the Lucanians; the following year, the Spartan king Archidamus III led a mercenary army to the Tarantines' aid and remained in Southern Italy until his death in 338 BC. In 303 BC, Cleonymus, second son of king Cleomenes II, led another mercenary army to Magna Graecia with the same purpose, to aid the Tarantines in their continuous struggle against the Lucanians (Diodorus 20.104-105). Cf. Brauer 1986, 62-63, 77-78.

intervention of the Spartan king Archidamus III introduced new forms of the cult of the Dioscuri, therefore increasing their archaeological visibility for that period.¹³⁴

As we have just seen, the Tarantine Dioscuri share their typology of cult (*theoxenia*) and their cultic attributes (*dokana* and amphorae) with their Spartan counterparts. However, there is another important trait of the Spartan Dioscuri, which is predominant in Sparta, if not exclusive to this context: their connection to the Underworld.¹³⁵ For instance, the Dioscuri are regularly associated with snakes, chthonian animals par excellence, and they are also connected to Hades' gates.¹³⁶ This chthonian dimension is usually foreign to the Dioscuri outside of Sparta, despite the widespread knowledge of their dual condition in the Afterlife, one day in Hades, the other on Olympus. In particular, these similarities emerge in comparison with the most popular and most archaic type of iconography we find on *pinakes*: the reclining hero, or recumbent.¹³⁷ An overwhelming majority of Tarantine *pinakes* depicts a man (either youthful or bearded), reclining on a *kline*, with a wreath on his head and drinking vessels (*rhyton*, *phiale* or *kantharos*) in his hands, in the typical attitude of a banqueter.¹³⁸ The most recent studies read it in the light of a cult of the heroised

¹³⁴ We shall remind that the Spartan kings were traditionally accompanied in battle by the Dioscuri. Dunbabin 1948, 92-93 already saw a connection between the arrival of the Spartan kings and the Tarantine cult of the Dioscuri; he suggested that the cult either was introduced or became popular in that moment. Lippolis 2009, 148-149, 154 suggests, instead, an evolution of an already existing cult. Similarly, Brauer 1986, 90 notes that Heracles was venerated in Taras at least from the middle of the fifth century BC, possibly even earlier than that, but his official cult makes its appearance only at the end of the fourth century, possibly under Cleonymus' influence. In this case, too, a pre-existing cult would have been formalised under the direct influence of the Spartan generals of the late fourth century BC.

¹³⁵ Cf. section 2.1.

¹³⁶ E.g. the Gate of Castor in Gythium (Pausanias 3.21.9). Their symbol, the *dokana*, has been interpreted as the door of the Underworld (Guarducci 1979). Bravo 2004, 71-72 suggests that horses are funerary and chthonian symbols, too.

¹³⁷ This type is attested regularly from the middle of the sixth century BC onwards. Cf. e.g. Kingsley 1979, 202-203.

¹³⁸ By contrast, this type is extremely rare in stone reliefs. Cf. Carter 1975, 19. The iconographic schema is quite common in the Greek world. In Attic vase painting, a kantharos-holding man is often Dionysus; in Laconian hero reliefs, it designates any hero to whom the relief is dedicated (possibly Agamemnon, but different reliefs in different locations could have depicted different heroes). Cf. Salapata 1993, 193-194. The exact meaning and purpose of these Tarantine depictions are still debated; many gods and heroes have been proposed as possible dedicatees (e.g. Taras, Phalanthos, Poseidon, Dionysus, Pluto, the Dioscuri. Cf. Paribeni 1964; Kingsley 1979; Cavaliere 1998-1999, 67-68).

dead,¹³⁹ or as depictions of the idealised citizen, dedicated to the protecting gods of the aristocratic *hetaireia*.¹⁴⁰

A dense network of connections can be drawn between the Tarantine “banqueters”, the Tarantine Dioscuri and the Spartan Dioscuri. First, it has been suggested that the origins of the type of the “banqueter” can be found in Samos, in the middle of the sixth century;¹⁴¹ we have already discussed the privileged relationship existing between Sparta and Samos during the Archaic period.¹⁴² Secondly, it seems likely that this Oriental tradition was contaminated by the Laconian model of the enthroned hero in order to produce the Tarantine recumbent;¹⁴³ the connection between these Laconian heroes with chthonian traits and the Dioscuri has been discussed in the Spartan chapter. Thirdly, the Tarantine *pinakes* manifest a clear parallel with the *pinakes* we have analysed in Locri in an earlier section; both connected to chthonian cults, they could have a common cultural root.¹⁴⁴ We have seen that the Locrian *pinakes* were somehow connected to, and influenced by, the iconography of the Dioscuri;¹⁴⁵ a parallel influence is likely for their Tarantine counterparts. From the fifth century BC onwards, the reclining heroes are often accompanied by warriors and riders,¹⁴⁶ some of whom wear *piloi*,¹⁴⁷ and many of whom stand close to stelae depicting snakes; all these traits suggest an identification as the Spartan-type Dioscuri.¹⁴⁸ The Dioscuri attested from the fourth century BC share some important

¹³⁹ Lippolis 1982, 119-126. Lippolis 2001, 236-240 suggests also that this form of cult connected to the dead was just one of the shapes taken by rites of passage (in this case, passage from life to death), which were the main aspect of religion in Magna Graecia. Although the connection is weak and not explicitly demonstrable, we should remember the relevance of the Leucippides in Spartan (cf. chapter 2) and Athenian (cf. chapter 4) rites of passage. On the codification of the adolescent stage of female life in Taras, cf. also Lippolis 2001, 243.

¹⁴⁰ Iacobone 1988, 167-169; Cavalieri 1998-1999, 70-74; Nafissi 2009, 249. In any case, the Dionysiac cult seems to have been an important influence on this type of depictions and its connected cult (Cavalieri 1998-1999, 72-75; Nafissi 2009, 248-249).

¹⁴¹ Cavalieri 1998-1999, 61.

¹⁴² Cf. section 3.3.1. Carter 1975, 19 suggests that some precedents can be found in Sparta, too.

¹⁴³ Letta 1971, 64.

¹⁴⁴ Lippolis-Garraffo-Nafissi 1995, 55; Cavalieri 1998-1999, 77.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. section 3.1.2.

¹⁴⁶ On Tarantine horsemen, their identification as the Dioscuri and possible dedication at initiation rites, cf. Poli 2010. Many of these riders are depicted as dismounting from their horses and are, therefore, known as *apobates*. The same position can be found in the Dioscuri of Locri-Marasà and seems typical of the art from Taras, under the influence of Laconian iconography. Cf. Barringer 2016, 126-127.

¹⁴⁷ The typical Tarantine *pilos* finds a clear parallel in some small terracotta heads from Locri, usually attributed to the Dioscuri too. Cf. Barra Bagnasco 2009, 165-166.

¹⁴⁸ Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, 312; Kingsley 1979, 204. Letta 1971, 106-107 draws a separation between depictions of the Dioscuri proper and generic, non-banqueting heroes, but this separation

traits with the reclining heroes, in particular, some typologies of hairdo;¹⁴⁹ the fact that two out of three deposits of Dioscuri *pinakes* are in the necropolis would also strengthen the connection between the (possibly) funerary *pinakes*, the chthonian Spartan Dioscuri and the Tarantine Dioscuri.¹⁵⁰ Also, the main form of the cult of the Dioscuri is the *theoxenia*, a banquet offered to the gods; some *pinakes* depict the Dioscuri receiving a *theoxenia* as standard recumbents, who are, in fact, banqueters.¹⁵¹ Finally, the type of the reclining hero seems to disappear in the second half of the fourth century, exactly when the Dioscuri become the most widespread type, together with the standing youth identified as Hyacinthus;¹⁵² this seems to suggest that the Dioscuri inherited the types and functions, or more generally took the place, of the recumbents.

In conclusion, the existence of an important cult of the Dioscuri in Taras, at least from the fifth century onwards, cannot be denied.¹⁵³ However, the incomplete knowledge of the cultic landscape of the city does not allow us to pinpoint the moment of appearance of this cult or its exact location. The predominance of cult scenes compared to mythological scenes strongly hints at the existence of a proper cult and not at the general knowledge of their myth; this cult took the form of a *theoxenia*. Although our sources, both literary and archaeological, fail at giving us a precise picture of the religious dimension of Taras, the comparison with Sparta points clearly in the direction of a direct transmission of cults from Sparta to its colony.¹⁵⁴ The

results artificial and counterintuitive. Lippolis 1982, 125 denies the connection between riders and Dioscuri in this context.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. also the flower crown (Letta 1971, 69).

¹⁵⁰ Lippolis 2009, 150. Dunbabin 1948, 89-90 already noticed a connection between the Tarantine necropoleis and Sparta, where the dead were buried traditionally within the walls.

¹⁵¹ *ThesCRA II*, 4.a. Banquet, C. Les Théoxénies; Lippolis-Garraffo-Nafissi 1995, 55; Bravo 2004, 74-75.

¹⁵² Iacobone 1988, 172; Cavalieri 1998-1999, 76. The first half of the fourth century BC marks also the zenith of South Italian art, in which its originality reaches its peak. Cf. Carter 1975, 8.

¹⁵³ More specifically, Guzzo 1994, 28 suggests the existence of a political and official cult of the Dioscuri in Taras already before the “democratic revolution” of 473 BC; the cult was organised by the aristocratic knights, the leading social class in that period, who recognised themselves in the riding heroes from Sparta.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. Lippolis 1982, 131. Biscotto 2010, 525, though accepting Taras’ adhesion to Spartan traditions concerning the Dioscuri, suggests also an Athenian mediation. However, Tarantine and Athenian pottery share the *topics* in their depiction of the Dioscuri, i.e. the Dioscuri themselves, their *theoxenia* and the abduction of the Leucippides, but their *forms* are only partially similar. As it will be evident in the next chapter, the abduction of the Leucippides is mostly different in the two contexts mentioned. Some similarities are indeed present, but the extent and direction of influence are not univocally clear, especially since the common traits adopted by both Tarantine and Athenian pottery for the abduction of

attestations of the cult of the Dioscuri predating the fourth century are lost to us, but we have no reason to doubt their existence, given the similarities between the fourth-century attestations of their cult in Taras and the information collected so far on Archaic Sparta. Having discussed the importance of the Dioscuri in Taras and analysed both the artistic and cultic forms of their presence, we shall now move to the Leucippides, and the problems connected to them, with a clearer picture of their Tarantine background.

3.4.3. *The Leucippides*

Among the depictions of the Dioscuri, a significant subset is marked by the abduction of the Leucippides. This is of particular interest because mythological episodes have only a marginal presence in decorated *pinakes*, while scenes and objects connected to the cult are dominant.¹⁵⁵ Where the Dioscuri are concerned, the only mythological scenes we find are, in fact, the abduction of the Leucippides and the Calydonian Hunt.¹⁵⁶ While limited in numbers, the abduction type belongs to the earliest phase of Dioscuri *pinakes*.¹⁵⁷ In parallel, very similar depictions also appear on a series of stone reliefs, identified as funerary art.¹⁵⁸ In fact, the influence of coroplasts on sculptors in Magna Graecia, at least from the fifth century BC onward, has already been studied.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, most of these scenes are fragmentary, so that we only have one

the Leucippides represent only one of the possible types of abduction of the Leucippides in Athens, but are the only type attested for Taras.

¹⁵⁵ It is interesting that Lippolis 2005, 92 highlights an underlining connection between deposits of coroplastic materials in Locri and Taras. In the first case, they depend on female cults, in particular the ones connected to *nymphai*, while in Taras they belong to the rites of passage from life to death; in both cases, the rites are a female prerogative. In this context, it is possible to suggest the presence of the Leucippides, connected in Sparta with female rites.

¹⁵⁶ In vases, the situation is slightly more articulated, as the Dioscuri are recognisable in a still limited amount of depictions but belonging to a good variety of mythological episodes; in any case, the abduction of the Leucippides seems to be one of the dominating themes, with three attestations, all from high quality vases. A list of mythological examples is in Biscotto 2010, 534-539.

¹⁵⁷ Lippolis 1982, 115. Lippolis 2009, 130 suggests a connection between these depictions and Spartan reliefs.

¹⁵⁸ Carter 1975, 18. Fig. 28-30. In these examples, a single abduction is preserved, but the compositions are fragmentary; a male, either wearing a chiton and chlamys or only a chlamys, forcefully grabs a dishevelled female at her waist and lifts her off the ground. The dynamic nature of the scene is suggested by the billowing chlamys of the abductor; the captured girl, however, seems more resigned and less resisting than her counterparts in *pinakes* and vases, as we shall see.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Carter 1975, 28 for bibliography on the topic.

abduction, but a parallel abduction should be integrated, given the evident common traits shared by these reliefs and both *pinakes* and vases, which have come to us whole.¹⁶⁰

Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, who first classified the Tarantine *pinakes* depicting the Dioscuri, reserves category H to the Dioscuri as abductors of the Leucippides and identifies two main types: in the first one (*a*),¹⁶¹ the Dioscuri take the central position of the composition, while in the other group (*b*)¹⁶² they occupy the outer position.¹⁶³ The two scenes are similar, but do not depict precisely the same moment in time; in the former, the Dioscuri pursue the Leucippides, who run in opposite directions, while in the latter, the heroes already hold the two girls in their arms and lift them slightly off the ground. The scenes do not present any background detail, but their identification seems incontrovertible. The representation of the Dioscuri is consistent among cultic and mythological depictions in Tarantine *pinakes* (nude, chlamys on the shoulders, short and curly hair, beardless, perfectly identical, depicted inside a *naiskos*);¹⁶⁴ also, the abduction of the Leucippides is the only myth about a double abduction, as already discussed. The double nature of the abduction in the *pinakes* is indisputable, given the unity of the scene (ensured by the *naiskos* frame) and the symmetry of the two contemporary abductions.

Both types (Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli's *Ha* and *Hb*) share some features: first, they are usually framed by a *naiskos*, probably meant to suggest that the mythological episode should not be read outside of the context of the cult of the Dioscuri, just like the scenes of *theoxenia* discussed above.¹⁶⁵ This connection is worth pointing out; in fact, most of the instances considered so far seem to keep a clear distinction between the divine existence of the Dioscuri (i.e. their cult) and their mortal lives (i.e. the mythological episodes). This "hybrid" depiction of the Dioscuri – mortal heroes,

¹⁶⁰ Carter 1975, 49, n.60 plate 13c; 79, n.253 plate 45c; 79, n.255, plate 45d.

¹⁶¹ E.g. *LIMC* s.v. Dioskouroi 209. Fig. 31.

¹⁶² E.g. *LIMC* s.v. Dioskouroi 210. Fig. 32.

¹⁶³ Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, 370-373.

¹⁶⁴ Compare the catalogue of Dioscuri pinakes in Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, tav. LXIV-CXI.

¹⁶⁵ A parallel device – also appearing at the beginning of the Hellenistic age – will be the addition of stars above the heads of the Dioscuri, which suggest their *katasterismos*. Something similar can also be found in literature in the same period, for instance in Theocritus, who certifies the divine status of the Dioscuri at the time of the abduction of the Leucippides in his *Idyll* 22, and in Apollonius, who suggests that the Dioscuri, during the Argonauts' expedition, already enjoyed their divine competences on the sea (Theocritus, *Idyll* 22; Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 4.649-653).

operating in the world of myth, and gods, subject of cult – could be an independent development in Taras. To be sure, it has no parallels in Laconia, or in Greece in general, before this date. However, given its Hellenistic parallels and the renewed influence from Sparta (and therefore continental Greece) in the same period, we can suggest that this type of depiction was a part of a common process that was taking place throughout the Greek world.

A second feature shared by the abduction *pinakes* and foreign to the other depictions considered so far is the absence of chariots. Chariots feature predominantly and evenly in Archaic and Classical depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides. In time, their presence decreases, but never disappears entirely. The Tarantine *pinakes* are the only case in which chariots systematically disappear. The parallel offered by the Locrian *pinakes*, in which chariots are extremely common, assures that there is no reason to suspect a widespread iconographic type of abduction without chariots in Southern Italy. Nevertheless, chariots are rarely seen in the abduction of the Leucippides in Taras, whether it be on *pinakes*, stone reliefs or vases. This is undoubtedly a local peculiarity of the iconographic scheme of the myth, possibly influenced by the late date of our depictions (i.e., the second half of the fourth century BC), as chariots lose part of their importance in abduction scenes in the late Classical period and early Hellenistic age.¹⁶⁶ However, we might postulate another line of transmission of this motif. Chariots are often perceived as part of the Dioscuri's competencies because of the Dioscuri's identity as horse-riders.¹⁶⁷ However, their connection with horses, despite being present and alive, is not as necessary in Sparta as anywhere else; there are several depictions of the Dioscuri, clearly recognisable because of their attributes – *dokana*, snakes, amphorae – but on foot, with no horses in sight.¹⁶⁸ Unfortunately, we have no Spartan depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides, so we cannot make an immediate connection between a Spartan model and a Tarantine "imitation". We do have depictions of dismounted Dioscuri *without*

¹⁶⁶ Cf. sections 4.2.3, 4.4.1 and 4.4.2. Interestingly, the abduction of the Leucippides is, together with the abduction of Kore, one of the very few examples of abduction by chariot still surviving to the fourth century BC and beyond. Cf. section 4.4.2 and Appendix A.

¹⁶⁷ Castor as mighty charioteer in Pindar, *Isthmian* 1.17-21; the Dioscuri as organisers of the Olympic chariot race in Pindar, *Olympian* 3.36-38; Castor as protector of a chariot race winner in Pindar, *Pythian* 5.6-11.

¹⁶⁸ *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi, 58-65.

the Leucippides in sixth-century Sparta and of dismounted Dioscuri *with* the Leucippides in fourth-century Taras. Between these two poles, we find a limited number of fifth-century Athenian pottery paintings, possibly depicting dismounted Dioscuri pursuing the Leucippides, but of difficult identification.¹⁶⁹ Given the uncertainties surrounding the Athenian attestations and their completely different features, an exclusive influence from Athens seems unlikely. Yet, we cannot exclude that both the Tarantine and Athenian depictions were influenced by the same Peloponnesian models; however, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the Athenian depictions of dismounted Dioscuri abducting the Leucippides show evident traces of the influence of another model, i.e. the ephebic hunt. In conclusion, it seems more probable that the Spartan dismounted Dioscuri, imported together with their cult in Taras, actively influenced the way of depicting the Dioscuri in general, and therefore also mythological episodes such as the abduction. Nevertheless, this does not exclude a secondary, parallel influence from elsewhere (e.g. Athens), in particular since the abduction seems not to have had any clear antecedent in Laconian art.

Finally, the last point to attract our attention is the degree of violence depicted in the scene.¹⁷⁰ In Tarantine abduction scenes, there is no space for solemnity and gracefulness. The similarities with wedding processions that are so common in many depictions that will be discussed in the following chapter are absent. There is no possible confusion, nor trace of ambiguity in these scenes; the episode is purely mythological, with no contemporary social suggestions, and is an abduction *tout court*. The scene is lively and full of action. The Dioscuri burst in, running, their *chlamydes* billowing over their shoulders and their body positions conveying the onrush of the actions; they either stretch their hands towards the Leucippides or, having already grabbed them around their waistline, lift them powerfully off the ground.¹⁷¹ The Leucippides, desperately trying to flee their captors, wriggle in an agitated manner; their bodies and their expressions suggest their powerless fear. To be sure, the increase in emotional expressiveness is a typical feature of Hellenistic art. However, the

¹⁶⁹ We shall deal with these attestations in section 4.4.2.

¹⁷⁰ Carter 1975, 18.

¹⁷¹ The gesture of grabbing around the waist, as a typical gesture of possession, is shared by many depictions of abduction, in particular of the Leucippides (cf. the Athenian vases in the following chapter); rarer, but still present in other contexts, is the gesture of lifting up the abducted girl. What sets this typology apart from the others is the degree of violence of the gesture itself.

widespread diffusion of this feature in the Hellenistic period should not detract from the innovativeness of Apulian art. In fact, as we shall see also on vases, it is a trait that we find already at the end of the fifth century BC.¹⁷² Whether the particular dynamism of the scene actually reflected an exclusive character of the abduction of the Leucippides as known in Taras is hard to tell, and possibly would require us to push our evidence too far. Nevertheless, it is interesting to observe that it is this specific violent type of abduction scene that we find both in Etruscan and Roman depictions of the Leucippides.¹⁷³ As already mentioned, the cult of the Dioscuri came to Rome and Etruria through the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia, and Taras was certainly one of the most influential among them.¹⁷⁴ It does not seem unlikely that the iconography of the Dioscuri was influenced by the same context from which their cult was imported, though at a later date.

To summarise, the abduction of the Leucippides is not a common theme in Tarantine *pinakes* and reliefs but presents some characteristic traits that give rise to meaningful reflections on the reception, processing and diffusion of the myth in Taras and, through Taras, in the rest of Magna Graecia and neighbouring areas, such as Rome and Etruria. These traits can be summarised as a framing *naiskos*, absence of chariots and horses, and violence. All these traits seem to reflect both influences from Archaic Sparta and new Hellenistic trends. In this description, it is possible to recognise a feature of Tarantine identity, at the same time influenced by the mother city and creating influencing trends in neighbouring contexts. Some of these traits are recognisable also in vase painting, as we shall now discuss.

¹⁷² To a general overview, the abduction scenes on *pinakes* and the ones on vases appear quite similar. Biscotto 2010, 543 suggests, instead, that they derive from completely different traditions and have no points of contact, but this seems unlikely in the light of the sources considered.

¹⁷³ Etruscan depictions: *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi/Tinas Cliniar 79-82. Roman depictions: *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi/Castores 148-156.

¹⁷⁴ E.g. D'Anna 1979.

3.4.4. *The vases*

An abundant production of vases started in Apulia about 430 BC.¹⁷⁵ The first preserved depiction of the abduction of the Leucippides (fig. 14) is dated to the end of the fifth century BC. Despite being later than most other sources considered in our discussion, this vase is still dated to more than half a century before the oldest *pinakes*, and, therefore, predates the arrival of the Spartan kings. It seems clear that some form of renovation of the cult of the Dioscuri took place in the middle of the fourth century BC, but it is equally clear that this moment in time did not mark the introduction of their myth and, more importantly, of the Leucippides, in Taras.

On the vase in question, the myth is distinctly recognisable. One Dioscurus has just seized a girl, while the other, having already caught his victim, lifts her in his arms and takes her away. The scene unfolds on two different levels of action, each dedicated to the deeds of one Dioscurus. The two youths are identical in their physical appearance and dress, but the dimensions of the characters involved differ between the two levels. The focus of the scene is on the first abduction, which takes up more space and is in a central position. The Dioscuri appear identical, but the unwinding of the action separates them, and their relevance to the scene itself is not balanced. In a carefully planned chiasmic composition, the Leucippides respond to the Dioscuri: identical appearance but different positions in space for the Dioscuri, identical position but different appearance for the Leucippides. In fact, the abducted girls are in precisely the same position, with their right hand outstretched in a plead for help, their head inclined in the same direction, the left hand raised to keep their veil in place barely, and their dresses dishevelled. However, their dresses and veils are utterly different from each other; the girl at the centre of the scene has a more elaborate, fancier, flowing dress, and her veil is gracefully blown up by the wind. She also wears a crown or wreath on her head. This is not the only case in which the two abductions do not happen exactly at the same time, but two separate moments are depicted together.¹⁷⁶ However, the differences in the importance attributed to the two scenes and in the appearance of the two girls are here particularly striking. The overall impression given by this depiction is that one Dioscurus is more important (as he takes up the centre

¹⁷⁵ On pottery production, cf. Brauer 1986, 97. Montanaro 2007, 638-639, 150.1.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. fig. 6.

stage) and his corresponding Leucippid is of higher status (as she wears a wreath and a more elaborate dress). Perhaps this interpretation reads too much into the scene, but it seems meaningful to notice that this asymmetrical treatment does parallel the situation we suggested for the Spartan cult.¹⁷⁷ If there is one place where the Spartan influence could have been felt and actively received to this degree, it is indeed Taras.

On the side of the scene, we recognise a charioteer on his chariot.¹⁷⁸ However, his presence seems more of a conventional homage to the traditional depictions of abductions by chariot than a useful element of the action; he stands on the same level as the primary abduction and turns his head in that direction, but does not interact with it at all.¹⁷⁹ Both Dioscuri are moving in the opposite direction from him, and, therefore, are not taking the abducted girls to the chariot. Also, the action of the charioteer himself is ambiguous; it is not clear whether he is halting the horses (possibly to assist in the abduction?) or spurring them, therefore fleeing from the action. Possibly, the first Dioscurus jumped off the running chariot to pursue one of the girls, but the absence of a corresponding chariot for his brother makes this reading unlikely if we follow the conventional depiction of the scene and of the twin brothers. At this point, there are only two possible explanations: either the charioteer is a homage to the tradition, but has no real purpose in the scene, or his isolate presence reflects a difference in “status” between the two brothers. In this case, the “more important” brother arrived in a chariot with his charioteer, while the other Dioscurus simply walked there. Though not common, this kind of difference between the Dioscuri is well attested; we only need to mention the famous Vatican amphora painted by Exekias, on which Castor is armed, covered by a *himation* and accompanied by his horse, while Polydeukes stands naked and plays with a dog.¹⁸⁰ On the other hand, a distinction in the twins’ competences has existed in Greek tradition at least since Homer, who already knew of Castor as “horse-tamer” and of Polydeukes as “boxer”.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Cf. sections 2.7 and 2.9.

¹⁷⁸ Montanaro 2007, 638 identifies the charioteer as a female figure. As it is unlikely that a hero would have had a female charioteer, this identification strengthens the idea of the foreignness of the charioteer to the abduction. Possibly, we are in the presence of a goddess, or a personification, but certainly, the chariot does not belong to one of the Dioscuri and is not waiting for them.

¹⁷⁹ In fact, both abductions happen on foot. On this particular type of abduction scene, cf. section 3.4.3.

¹⁸⁰ The interpretation of the vase has been long debated and is of no relevance to our current discussion. Cf. e.g. Hermary 1978.

¹⁸¹ *Il.* 3.237.

Consequently, we might want to connect Castor to the chariot in our scene. This choice would have the consequence of making Castor the protagonist of the episode and relegating Polydeukes to a secondary role. Traditionally, Polydeukes is the most important brother, being Zeus' immortal son. However, this situation evolves in time, to the point that the positions of the twins are inverted in Roman culture, where Castor is so dominant that the Dioscuri are known as *Castores*. Possibly, a Greek step in this direction is recognisable in Theocritus, who makes Castor the only protagonist of the duel with the Apharetidae.¹⁸² Nonetheless, the introduction of the cult of the Castores in Rome largely predates both Theocritus and this vase, so we must assume that the process had been ongoing for much longer than attested. Given the influence of Taras on the development of a Roman cult of the Dioscuri, it should not come as a surprise if Castor's position was already being re-evaluated in Taras, too.

As the last point, we shall consider the presence of gods in the scene. A girl runs towards Aphrodite and Eros on the upper level; on the lower level, we find the goddess' *xoanon*, by which two women sit. Therefore, it seems clear that the abduction occurred in a cultic context: a sanctuary of Aphrodite. It is useful to point this out since the background of the abduction is often a sanctuary in Athenian pottery, and altars make sporadic appearances in other types of depiction, for instance in the Siphnian Treasury, though this cultic background is never mentioned by literary sources. We shall discuss the implications in the next chapter; for now, suffice it to say that Aphrodite appears too often in abduction scenes for it to be considered an accident; a connection between abduction (and possibly the following wedding) and desire (of which Aphrodite was the patroness) seems more likely.

From this point of view, it is interesting to briefly compare this vase with the famous Athenian hydria from the Meidias painter (fig. 12). In this depiction, a double abduction takes place; Polydeukes has already taken Hilaeira to his chariot and races it away while Castor, by foot, lifts another girl (named Eriphyle) in his arms. His charioteer Chrysippus waits a short distance away. Aphrodite is present, both in person and through her *xoanon*. Three other female characters are depicted in various stages of their escape.¹⁸³ Fig. 12 and fig. 14, in fact, share some compositional details, in

¹⁸² *Idyll* 22; cf. section 1.2.

¹⁸³ We shall come back to this in detail in the following chapter. Cf. pp. 214-218.

particular the presence of Aphrodite's *xoanon* and the body position of the abductor who lifts a girl off the ground and of the girl in his arms, so much that Biscotto has recently suggested that the Apulian vase is clearly derived from the Athenian vase.¹⁸⁴ As we shall see in the next chapter, neither of these is an exclusive feature of the Meidias painter's work; also, a direct filiation would require direct knowledge of the specific vase, which is highly difficult to prove, as the resemblance is more superficial than it seems at first glance. However, a more generic influence of Athenian pottery on Apulian vases has been largely discussed in the past and can be postulated in this case, too.¹⁸⁵ In particular, the appearance of Aphrodite's *xoanon* is typical of Athenian abduction scenes and not only of the Leucippides.¹⁸⁶

At this point, we shall come back to two other Apulian vases depicting the abduction of the Leucippides, both dated to the middle of the fourth century (fig. 15 and fig. 16), which we have discussed in the first chapter.¹⁸⁷ The most relevant feature of both is the fact that they depict the first secure appearances of the connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and the fight against the Apharetidae.¹⁸⁸ For this reason, they have already been discussed and will not be analysed in detail again. We should only focus our attention on the way these two vases reflect the peculiarities of the Tarantine depictions of the abduction mentioned above. In both cases, the abduction scene and the duel scene interact closely, almost bleeding one into the other seamlessly, with the addition of extra characters or repetitions of the same character. Consequently, it is difficult to look for the same type of symmetry (or lack thereof) as in the previous example.

A peculiarity of both vases is the reappearance of chariots, two on each vase. However, the pelike (fig. 16) resembles fig. 14 more closely, as the two abductions do not happen at the same time; in a chariot, Castor's charioteer already holds a Leucippid in his arms, while Polydeukes lifts the other girl and takes her in the direction of his chariot. In this case, the characters are named; the comparison with this vase confirms

¹⁸⁴ Biscotto 2010, 530.

¹⁸⁵ The relationship between the Athenian models of the abduction of the Leucippides and their Apulian counterparts will be the main topic of section 4.2.3.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. section 4.5.

¹⁸⁷ Cf. section 1.2.

¹⁸⁸ Despite admitting the innovativeness of this scene, which has no precedents in Athenian pottery, Biscotto 2010, 530 still maintains the importance of Athenian models for the Apulian Dioscuri.

our identification of the characters on fig. 14. The scene on the lekythos (fig. 15) is more symmetric, as both girls are already in the chariots. However, the characters are not named here, and it is possible that the youths leading them away are not the Dioscuri but their charioteers (or at least one of them is). The presence of chariots, in any case, could either be a reflection of the growing importance of Athenian models, or a consequence of the connection with the duel with the Apharetidae. In fact, the examples considered so far only depicted the abduction of the Leucippides, with no connection to the Apharetidae; however, the chariot chase is a permanent presence in the duel episode, just as much as the throw of Aphareus' tombstone, that is, in fact, depicted on both vases. Another trait shared by all three vases is the presence of gods, in particular, Aphrodite and Eros, but also Zeus makes his appearance, though he is connected to the duel episode and not to the abduction.¹⁸⁹ Possibly, the main difference between these two vases and our first example is the reduced degree of violence. In fig. 15, the abducted girls still stretch their hands towards assisting characters in a plea for help, but their gesture lacks the compelling urgency of their predecessors; this trend is clearer in fig. 16, where the girls' position is more static, with their hands lowered in a dignified position. However, both are still far from the stoic acceptance of the abducted girls of Athenian pottery.¹⁹⁰

In conclusion, there are only three Apulian vase paintings that depict the abduction of the Leucippides, yet each addresses some relevant matters. In particular, the importance of the first vase cannot be overstated, as it predates all other Apulian sources and proves that the Leucippides' story was already clearly recognisable to an Apulian audience before the arrival of the Spartan kings in the middle of the fourth century BC. Therefore, the sudden appearance of a large number of material attestations of the cult of the Dioscuri in Taras in that period is due to some *innovation* in an already existing reality, and not to the *introduction* of the characters themselves, who were already known. This vase is also significant in the larger picture of Tarantine depictions; in particular, we resorted to it to analyse the incoming influences from continental Greece and especially Sparta and the outgoing influences on neighbouring

¹⁸⁹ According to the tradition, his thunderbolt kills Idas before he can throw Aphareus' tombstone at Polydeukes, and Zeus again intervenes to save dying Castor from his mortal condition. Cf. e.g. Pindar, *Nemean* 10.

¹⁹⁰ This will be discussed in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.

contexts. Among its traits, in fact, particular relevance is assumed by the clear separation between the two abductions, which marks the differences in status between the two Dioscuri and the two Leucippides, already suggested in Sparta. It is possible that these differences started veering in Castor's favour in Taras, which would explain, at least partially, his dominant position in Rome, as a result of Tarantine influence.

3.4.5. Conclusions

Taras has been a vital stop in our overview of the Leucippides' presence in the Greek world. The decision to isolate its discussion from the rest of Magna Graecia is due to the later date of the Tarantine sources, but it also reflects the more extensive range and more substantial number of available sources; its position in the section on Magna Graecia would have dwarfed the other cities and overshadowed the relevance of their contributions.

Taras has proved its importance in this discussion from at least four different points of view. First, the analysis of the Tarantine sources has allowed us to infer some information on the local cult of the Dioscuri. For instance, the date of its introduction might be moved to an earlier period than the one usually assumed by scholars, i.e. the middle of the fourth century BC, since the first depiction of the Dioscuri with the Leucippides is dated to the late fifth century. To be sure, a direct influence from Sparta should be assumed, as the Dioscuri always appear with the most typical attributes of their Spartan iconography.

Secondly, we noted the active role played by Taras in the transition from the Archaic artistic types of the abduction, as seen in the previous sections, to the new forms of Hellenistic art. Obviously, some of these trends are common to art in general, but it was possible to isolate some peculiar traits of the abduction of the Leucippides, partially shared by literary sources. Among them, we recognised the identification of the Dioscuri-heroes with the Dioscuri-gods already during their mortal lives, the progressive disappearance of chariots and horses from the abduction scenes, the returning distinctions between the Dioscuri and between the Leucippides, and the increase in expressivity and violence in the scene, that completely separates the

abduction from depiction of wedding processions. Possibly, we might also find the first traces of Castor's growing importance in comparison to his immortal brother.

Thirdly, most of these traits – and in particular the last one – are typical of the traditions and cult of the Dioscuri that were imported in Rome. Given that the cult of the Dioscuri makes its official appearance in Rome at the beginning of the sixth century BC, we must assume that the development of these peculiarities had been ongoing for much longer than we can suspect from our early Hellenistic sources, and that Taras' cultural influence had been strong and continuous for centuries in Italy, from the first appearance of the Roman Castores to Taras' entrance in the Roman orbit of power. It is not by chance that the typical traits of the abduction of the Leucippides that can be found in Roman and also Etruscan art are more or less faithfully reprised from corresponding scenes in Tarantine art. On the contrary, other types of the same abduction, such as the Athenian vase paintings that will be considered in the next chapter, did not influence Roman and Etruscan depictions to the same degree. Taras' geographical position and its political, economic and cultural influence were vital in the cultural mediation between Spartan (and more generally continental Greek) models and Magna Graecia, Etruria and Rome, and profoundly influenced the reception, adaptation and transmission of traditions westward. The Dioscuri and the Leucippides are an evident example of this process.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and the duel with the Apharetidae makes its first certain appearance in Apulian vase painting. We shall not dwell too much on the topic, as it has been the subject of a specific section of the first chapter. However, we should point out that this connection is systematically attested only from the Hellenistic period. The fact that it appeared at such an early date in Taras dramatically contributes to the impression of Taras as a lively cultural centre, highly engaged in the reception of new suggestions from Greece and also, by contrast, in the elaboration of new traditions that were bound to establish themselves in the whole Greek world.

4. A Myth in Context: the Leucippides in Athens

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will complete the geographical overview and discussion of the presence of the Leucippides in Greece, in order to obtain the fullest and clearest picture possible of these characters, by focusing on Athens. Although Sparta is undoubtedly the most important centre for the development and diffusion of our myth, as discussed in the Spartan chapter, Athens deserves as much attention for a different reason: the peculiar condition of Athenian sources. In fact, Athens is the best-known context for modern scholars thanks to the Athenocentric perspectives of literary sources and the abundance of material remains, including a massive amount of painted pottery. In particular, we have a significant group of vases, all of Athenian fabric and all dated roughly to the same period, c. 475-400 BC, depicting the abduction of the Leucippides, or somehow ascribable to the same theme. Most depictions here considered are on well-preserved vases, which allow us to reconstruct the specific scene (the abduction) in its entirety.

As in the previous chapters, geographical criteria will be our primary guideline; the focus of the chapter is, in fact, entirely on Athens and its cultural connections, and is structured thematically. Chronologically, our sources will range from the Archaic to the late Classical period, but the presentation of a detailed timescale is not among the aims of this chapter. In the first part, we shall consider the reciprocal influences between Athens and other cultural centres considered in previous chapters, such as Sparta, Argos and Taras, in order to isolate the local peculiarities of the Athenian Leucippides, which will make up the bulk of the discussion. In the second part, the abduction of the Leucippides in Athens is considered from three points of view: the abduction as a rite of passage leading to marriage, the implied relationship between abduction and marriage, and the abduction as part of the heroic quest of male maturation.

4.2 *A myth from afar – a local myth*

The importance of the Leucippides in Athens, both from a mythological and a cultic point of view, is not comparable to other contexts previously considered, first and foremost, Sparta. As in other cities previously analysed, the Leucippides exist exclusively as the girls abducted by the Dioscuri in Athens. While the cult of the Dioscuri is not a staple of Athenian religion, it is attested at least from the fifth century BC, and the Leucippides accompany them from the beginning. Therefore, Athens is a fascinating case study, as it allows us to ascertain the dissemination of our myth in a well-attested (and therefore statistically relevant) context, despite the myth in question not being a cornerstone of the local culture. In other words, if we ascertain that the Leucippides were consistently present in Athenian materials despite their apparent foreignness to the Athenian culture, we could suggest a greater relevance and cultural meaning for them than previously assumed by modern scholarship.

That being said, it is clear that the Leucippides *came* to Athens and did not develop in this context independently, as strongly suggested by the chronology; in fact, in the previous chapters, we have considered numerous instances of the presence of the Leucippides predating their first attestations in Athens. Also, a dense network of similarities with these other geographical contexts should be considered; as we shall see, these connections hint at a systematic influence from other cities on the development of the myth of the Leucippides in Athens.

4.2.1 Athens and Argos

Following a roughly chronological path, we find that the first attestation of the Leucippides in Athens is inside the temple of the Dioscuri known as *Anakeion*.¹

τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοί σφισιν ἐφ' ἵππων. ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ σπουδῇ μάλιστα ἐς Ἄκαστον καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου.

The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient; they are depicted as standing and their sons as sitting on horses. There, Polygnotos painted the wedding of the daughters of Leucippus to them, while Mycon depicted those who sailed with Jason to Colchis, and he focused his attention particularly on Acastus and Acastus' horses.

The decoration of the temple, as described by Pausanias, has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BC, since it is attributed to Polygnotus and Mikon.² Unfortunately, the painting itself is long lost, and the exact position of the temple is still debated.³ The existence of the temple itself in the fifth century, however, is confirmed by some fragmentary inscriptions,⁴ by Thucydides (8.93.1)⁵ and Andocides (1.45).⁶ However, Polyaeus suggests that an *Anakeion* already existed under Pisistratus (1.21.2).⁷ The date of the appearance of the cult of the Dioscuri in Athens is uncertain in itself; it is possible that it was introduced in the sixth century BC.⁸ This early date would be compatible with the first appearance of an *Anakeion* in Athens as

¹ Pausanias 1.18.1 (T15). Cf. also *LIMC*, s.v. Dioskouroi, 192. Pausanias uses the word ἱερὸν, which usually describes a temple or sanctuary dedicated to a god, not a heroon (cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2008a, 145-151). The other sources simply call it *Anakeion*.

² The same attribution can be found in Harpocration, *Lexicon*, s.v. Polygnotos. Bonanno Aravantinos 1994, 24 suggests that the decoration of the temple was commissioned by the pro-Spartan Cimon.

³ If we follow Pausanias' description, it should have been on the North slope of the Acropolis, between the *Theseion* (1.17.6) and the *Aglaurion* (1.18.2) Cf. Bonanno Aravantinos 1994, 16. Robertson 1998, 297 suggests that it would have been facing onto the agora. The remains of the temple have not been found, but some of its inscriptions were reused in the agora (Wycheley 1957, 64-65; Bonanno Aravantinos 1994, 16).

⁴ *IG* I² 127 (c.430 BC), *IG* I² 310 (429/428 BC) and Agora I 2080 (c.450 BC).

⁵ The passage refers to the revolution of 411 BC.

⁶ On the mutilation of the Herms in 415 BC.

⁷ The exact date in Polyaeus is 546 BC. On the topic, cf. also Shapiro 1999, 100.

⁸ As suggested by Shapiro 1989, 150-152.

reported by Polyaeus; however, this could not be the same building as seen by Pausanias, which was built or, at least, redecorated in the middle of the fifth century BC.

The scene depicted is the wedding of the Dioscuri and the Leucippides. Modern scholarship often tends to identify the wedding with the abduction of the Leucippides in Pausanias;⁹ however, Pausanias does not interchangeably use the two terms. He systematically uses the word ἀρπαγή for the abduction of the Leucippides in all other instances; here, he calls the scene their γάμον. Pausanias is extremely sparing of details, so we do not know how the scene was depicted, which characters were involved, or what its context was. However, Polygnotus' painting of the wedding is not isolated; Pausanias states that, inside the temple, one could find statues of the Dioscuri and of their *sons*, riding horses. We knew already that the Dioscuri and the Leucippides were connected by marriage and children outside of Sparta and from an early date; our source is the temple of the Dioscuri in Argos.

In the previous chapter, we discussed the presence of the Leucippides and the sons of the Dioscuri inside the Dioscuri's Argive temple, as attested by Pausanias (2.22.5 – T16). It should be noted that, inside the Argive temple, there were statues of the sons of the Dioscuri and of their mothers, while there are no statues of the Leucippides in the Athenian temple; the Leucippides only appear in a painting. This is a notable difference between the two sanctuaries, but it might be less relevant than it would seem at first sight. While the presence of the Leucippides in the Argive sanctuary is an interesting *unicum*, the Leucippides are known and well attested in many other contexts in connection to the Dioscuri; on the other hand, the Dioscuri's sons are almost non-existing characters. The birth of children from the union of the Dioscuri and the Leucippides is, in fact, an uncommon event; it can be found with certainty only in late sources, such as Apollodorus, and in two Archaic temples, in Argos and in Athens.¹⁰ Even in these cases, the sons of the Dioscuri are insubstantial characters; they do not seem to have personalities, traits or competencies, there are no mythological episodes to make up their story, and even their names and number are

⁹ E.g. Shapiro 1999, 101-102.

¹⁰ Their names also appear in Pausanias' description of the throne of Apollo in Amyklai (3.18.13 – T21), but the identification is not univocal, and the scene itself is of dubious interpretation, since no other preserved source describes the same episode.

dubious. Pausanias sees two statues in the Argive temple and calls them Anaxis and Mnasinous, but Apollodorus attests the names Mnesileos and Anogon, and Tzetzes knows of four children, named Asineus, Aulothus, Anaxis and Mnasinoos or Mnesileos and Anogon.¹¹ In the Athenian temple, Pausanias sees the statues of the παῖδες of the Dioscuri but does not state their names or even their number, which is a generic plural. In a mythological world in which every character has a story and a name, the uncertainty surrounding the children of the Dioscuri clearly flags up the irrelevance of their identities. They are not real heroes who carry forward a divine genealogy, enriching a family tradition of glorious deeds with their own stories; the only important thing about them is their existence itself. Their birth, in fact, takes their mothers, the Leucippides, from abducted παρθένοι to a new identity, that of mothers and, therefore, adult women. The fact that such characters can be found only in these two specific temples and in both cases as statues seems to suggest a connection between these two instances.

It is not by chance that the children of the Dioscuri appear in Athens side by side with the depiction of the *wedding* of the Leucippides. In Sparta, the story of the Leucippides and, as a consequence, their divine competences lead to the wedding, preceded or symbolised by the abduction, and go no further; in Argos and in Athens, the wedding is an integral part of the story and is complemented by the birth of children. This evolution of the theme is particularly evident in Athens, where, as we shall see, the iconography of the abduction of the Leucippides is often loaded with wedding symbolism. The line between abduction and wedding procession is often blurred in these depictions; characters, body positions and items involved are so deeply intertwined that the abduction of the Leucippides, recognisable either by the names of the characters or by the presence of two abductors, *becomes* a full-fledged wedding procession. Their story is not the story of an abduction anymore, but a story of female maturation, from παρθένος (before the abduction/wedding) to νύμφη (with the wedding) to γυνή, with the birth of their children. We shall come back to this point in a subsequent section; for now, we shall focus our attention on the presence of this theme exclusively in Athens and Argos. The nature of our sources allows us to see the

¹¹ Apollodorus 3.11.2 (T12); Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 511 (T29). Pausanias also knows of the variant Anaxias for Anaxis in Sparta (3.18.13 – T21).

development of the theme in Athens extensively; however, it seems more likely that it originated in Argos, as discussed in our Argive section. In fact, if the Leucippides belonged to the Dorian mythological background, as suggested, it seems more reasonable that they evolved in slightly different ways in Sparta (where their divine nature prevailed and their story and godlike protection of girls ended with the abduction-wedding), and neighbouring Argos (where, instead, they remained fully fledged heroines and as such got married and had children from their captors), and from there were imported in Athens. Assuming that the opposite movement might have happened poses two different problems. The first is chronological. The decoration of the Argive temple is dated to the middle of the sixth century, while the paintings in the Athenian temple are dated to almost a century later. The second problem pertains to geographical and ethnic contiguity. If we accept that the myth originated in Sparta, its parallel and independent development in a culturally separate context such as Athens would be difficult to explain in itself. However, if we also supposed that it moved “back” from Athens to Argos, closer to Sparta both geographically and culturally, and thrived there without any influence from Sparta, we would be moving on extremely shaky ground.

On a different note, there is another interesting parallel between the two temples of the Dioscuri in question, in Athens and in Argos. Both temples are, in fact, *Anakeia*, i.e. temples of the Dioscuri Anakes. As already mentioned in our Argive section, the title (translated as Lords) is ancient and widespread in the entirety of the Greek world; the Dioscuri are not the only gods known as Anakes, but indeed are the gods who are most regularly called so. The majority of the attestations of this *epiklesis* for the Dioscuri can be found in Athens and Argos. The introduction of the cult of the Dioscuri in Athens under the name of Anakes is traditionally attributed to an episode of their myth; when Theseus abducted Helen, her brothers invaded Attica to rescue her. However, their intervention did not bring destruction to the region, and the grateful Athenians instituted a cult to the respectful invaders, who were gratefully called Anakes, “Lords”.¹² The connection between the *epiklesis* and its mythological origins is clearly fleeting; the exact meaning of the name is not as clear. Anyhow, the temple

¹² Lycophron 508-511 (T10); Plutarch, *Theseus* 33.1-2; Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 508 (T29).

of the Anakes does not bear any traces of this story; instead, we find the Leucippides' wedding and their children, and curiously, the Argonauts. The presence of the Argonauts is more difficult to explain, but also less relevant to our discussion; possibly, it is a consequence of the new diffusion of the myth, for instance on the coeval Sicyonian Monopteros in Delphi. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that an "illegitimate" abduction by Theseus (in fact, Helen was too young for marriage and, therefore, for an abduction at the time of this episode, according to tradition) is completely overshadowed by a "legitimate" abduction, sanctioned by marriage and the birth of children, as is the case with the Leucippides and the Dioscuri.

Obviously, we cannot expect any historical reliability in the foundation myth of the Athenian cult; nevertheless, some interesting points emerge from it. First, it connects the foundation of the cult directly to the Dioscuri themselves and, therefore, to Sparta; secondly, the link between the two cities is given by Theseus' abduction of Helen, but the centre of this cult, the *Anakeion*, does not seem to show traces of Theseus' story, except for its geographical position by the *Theseion*.¹³ Not only is Theseus utterly alien to the wedding of the Leucippides, but he does not figure among the Argonauts, either. Naturally, it is possible that some part of the decoration depicted the abduction of Helen by Theseus and her brothers' intervention but, in that case, Pausanias did not deem it worthy of mention; his silence is interesting, even if not unambiguous. If this decoration ever existed, it was not the most important, famous or beautiful in the temple, and was not made by the most famous artists – an underwhelming fate for the supposedly most relevant scene of the whole decoration. Given the growing importance of Theseus in Greek myth from the sixth century onward (in parallel with the growing power of Athens), it is possible to suppose that the origin of the cult of the Dioscuri as implied by this story is a late justification. In other words, the cult had already been introduced in Athens through other channels and in another form, when it was forcefully explained as a product of the mythological invasion by the Dioscuri, and, consequently, as a Spartan derivation. In fact, the abduction of Helen by Theseus is not a cornerstone of the Spartan cult of the Dioscuri,

¹³ The *Theseion*, however, was built under Cimon (e.g. Pausanias 1.17.6), while an *Anakeion* probably existed as far back as Peisistratus' tyranny. Therefore, the *Anakeion* did not have any original connection to Theseus' cult, but Theseus' σηκός *might* have been built close to it because of the tradition concerning Helen's abduction.

nor are the wedding with the Leucippides, the birth of their children and the title of Anakes, which are scarcely attested, if at all, in Sparta. All of them are, instead, present and relevant in Argos. As already mentioned, the Argive temple of the Dioscuri, in which the Leucippides were depicted as the mothers of the Dioscuri's children, is dated to the middle of the sixth century and could have very well influenced its Athenian counterpart. In Argos again, Pausanias also attests the existence of a temple to Eileithyia, not far from the temple of the Dioscuri, traditionally founded by Helen, who gave birth in that place to Theseus' daughter.¹⁴ This Helen, already an adult when abducted and, following, mother to Theseus' child, is utterly exclusive to Argos; although no signs of this specific variation can be found in Athens, Argos is among the few places outside of Athens where the story of the abduction of Helen by Theseus left unequivocal signs.

Argive history of the Archaic period is not completely known, but it seems likely that Argos and Athens enjoyed a friendly relationship at least during Pisistratus' tyranny (sixth century BC) and, later, with the alliance of 461 BC.¹⁵ The paintings by Polygnotus and Micon in the Athenian *Anakeion* should belong to a restoration of the pre-existing sanctuary (c. 475-450 BC) after the devastation of the Persian invasion; the initiative might have been taken under the influence of Cimon's pro-Spartan politics,¹⁶ but could have come forth in the period surrounding the alliance of 461 BC as well, against the same backdrop as Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. Regardless, the existence of an *Anakeion* probably predated this period and the Persian wars. Although a cosmetic renovation of the sanctuary of the Dioscuri would have certainly appeased the pro-Spartan party, it equally fit a pro-Argive agenda. Nevertheless, the cult itself could have remained the same as before; in other words, the Leucippides and their sons had no reason to be *introduced* at Cimon's time in connection to Sparta (as maintained by Di Cesare), especially if we consider how scarcely relevant their children were in Sparta.¹⁷ On the other hand, they might have just been restored to a previous position;

¹⁴ Pausanias 2.22.6. Unfortunately, Pausanias does not provide a date for the foundation of the sanctuary; he only seems to be under the impression that it was extremely ancient.

¹⁵ Tomlinson 1972, 91-92, 111-112; Kelly 1974, 84-87. Pisistratus had a son from an Argive woman (Herodotus 5.94) and received military aid from Argos at the time of his last return to power.

¹⁶ Hermay 1978, 72; Di Cesare 2015, 106-107.

¹⁷ Pace Di Cesare 2015, 109-113 who claims that the wedding of the Leucippides was a common theme in Sparta and only there.

if they were already part of the Archaic sanctuary in the middle of the sixth century, they would have found an obvious model in the Argive *Anakeion*. Although it is impossible to prove when the sanctuary was first built and what traits the Dioscuri's cult had at the very beginning, the traits we do know point more clearly to Argos than to Sparta.¹⁸ Argos could have exerted some influence on the Athenian cult of the Dioscuri during the sixth century BC, when the two cities, although not overtly friendly, were at least collaborating.¹⁹ Naturally, this does not imply that the Athenians of the fifth century BC would not have recognised the Dioscuri as Spartan gods *par excellence*, independently from the actual origins of their most salient traits in the Athenian cult. In other words, I suggest that the Athenians learned something – if not most – about the way to worship the “Spartan” Dioscuri from Argos. Pointing out this long-ignored connection was necessary, on the one hand, to explain some peculiarities of Athenian cult that do not find an immediate parallel in Sparta, as we shall see, and, on the other, to contrast the mechanical application of the assumption that the Dioscuri must be always and exclusively traced back to Sparta.

To sum up, the presence of the Leucippides in Athens is dependent on the cult of the Dioscuri; this cult is mainly attested by the temple known as *Anakeion*. All the information that we can extrapolate from this temple and its connected cult points uniformly to Argos: the wedding of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri, the birth of their children, the cult of the Dioscuri as Anakes, and even the connection with Helen's abduction by Theseus. The Athenian temple was decorated in the first half of the fifth century, and there are no earlier traces either of the Dioscuri or of the Leucippides in Athens; on the other hand, the Argive temple is dated to the middle of the sixth century.

¹⁸ Hermay 1978, 72-3 suggests an Ionian origin for the sixth-century cult of the Dioscuri, but the Dioscuri are barely attested in the East at this time (cf. Alcaeus 34 and *Homeric Hymns* 17 and 33) and only as saviours by sea, a jurisdiction that seems foreign to the cult of the Dioscuri in the *Anakeion*, has no connection with the Dioscuri as abductors of the Leucippides and, more generally, does not fit in the interests of Pisistratid Athens. It seems that those traits belonged to different traditions concerning the Dioscuri: their role as saviours by sea was dominant in the Greek East, where the Leucippides were almost unknown, while the abduction episode was more relevant in the Peloponnese. The Ionian influence on the Athenian cult of the Dioscuri as saviours by sea still seems likely but might have been a later development, not connected to the *Anakeion* and the early cult of the Dioscuri. As discussed in the previous chapter, the name *Anakes* is only attributed to the Argive (i.e. Peloponnesian) Dioscuri and to the Dioscuri that invaded Athens to rescue their sister from Theseus, neither having any connection to the sea.

¹⁹ To be sure, the relations between Athens and Argos were probably friendlier than between Athens and Sparta, who traditionally held a fiercely anti-tyrants stand.

Consequently, it seems likely that the specific typology of Dioscuri and Leucippides attested in the *Anakeion* came to Athens from Argos, and not Sparta, at some point between the late sixth century and the middle of the fifth century BC. Naturally, this point is not incompatible with the common knowledge in Athens that the origins of the mythological Dioscuri could be found in Sparta; however, the specific details of the cult could have been influenced by other places where the cult itself is attested. The new Athenian cult shared many common traits with its Argive predecessor, such as the “regularisation” of the abduction of the Leucippides, which ended in a legitimate wedding, sanctioned by the birth of children. This feature, in particular, gained considerable importance in Athens, as we shall see in vase paintings. Athens, Argos and the Dioscuri already had something else in common: the abduction of Helen by Theseus. In fact, Helen – freed by her brothers and on her way back to Sparta – stopped close to Argos to give birth to a daughter. Although the origins of this peculiarly Argive variation of the story are unclear, the story attests that the episode of Helen’s abduction by Theseus was known and relevant in Argos, too. Therefore, the myth tells the story of the Dioscuri’s arrival at Athens from Sparta, their city, and the traditional telling of this episode attributed to this moment in time also the introduction of their cult in the polis. However, the Athenian Dioscuri (and Leucippides) had not arrived from Sparta as their mythological counterparts, but from Argos, and were not connected initially with Helen’s story, but with the abduction of the Leucippides. The fact that the connection between cult and myth mentioned above came after the introduction and affirmation of the cult is also suggested by the decoration of the temple, which – as far as we know – shows the centrality of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri’s families to the cult but does not present the Dioscuri as saviours of their sister.²⁰

²⁰ Although it is possible that other scenes were also depicted and not only the ones that Pausanias mentions, his emphasis gestures clearly towards the greater quality and relevance of the mentioned scenes.

4.2.2. Athens and Sparta

The fact that the origins of the cult of the Dioscuri in Athens were connected to Sparta “artificially” and at a later date than the introduction of the cult itself in the polis does not imply that any connection between the Spartan Dioscuri and Leucippides, on the one hand, and their Athenian counterparts on the other, should be dismissed as artificial. In fact, a couple of casual mentions in Athenian theatre from the late fifth century (that we shall analyse shortly) already display some degrees of knowledge of the Spartan Leucippides among the Athenian audience; nevertheless, it is evident that those Spartan peculiarities are known, but perceived as *foreign*, not Athenian. If they were chosen to “colour” the scene in Spartan tones, we should assume that the Athenian audience could immediately recognise and contextualise them as Spartan; therefore, we would suggest a more widespread knowledge of the “Spartan” Leucippides outside Laconia than previously thought.

In Euripides’ *Helen*, the chorus wishes Helen a safe return to Sparta and picture an idyllic scene of festivity waiting for her.²¹ When Helen arrives in Sparta, during the Hyacinthia festival, she will find the Leucippides by the Eurotas river, or in front of the temple of Athena. Naturally, they would be there as Helen’s sisters-in-law (the wives of Helen’s brothers, the Dioscuri), i.e. the only family, together with her daughter, she would find in Sparta waiting for her return;²² yet there is something more. The two girls seem to be leading a dance, a chorus, or a rite connected to the Spartan festival.²³ It is clear that, in the dimension of myth, they cannot be goddesses but living, mortal heroines; however, they will be goddesses in the Sparta that Euripides’ audience knows, as established in our Spartan chapter. In fact, they were the goddesses responsible for young girls’ choruses and rites of passage.²⁴ Helen is sometimes considered another Spartan goddess of female rites of passage, so it would

²¹ Euripides, *Helen* 1465-1470 (T7).

²² Willink 2005, 504 makes this point, too.

²³ Battezzato 2013 speaks of a dithyramb performed by women and proves convincingly how this would have been a perfectly traditional practise in contemporary Sparta. He recognises that the whole *Helen* refers often to peculiarities of Spartan cults and, in this passage, attributes to the chorus a specific knowledge of Spartan rites; however, in his opinion (106), Euripides would not be giving a faithful description of actual Spartan cults, but “reconstructing them for a (primarily) non-Spartan audience”. This does not imply that Euripides’ description should not be trusted at all, but that it is filtered through the Athenians’ knowledge of the cults themselves, as discussed below.

²⁴ Calame 1977a, 323-334. Cf. sections 2.4-2.7.

be appropriate for the Leucippides to lead a chorus of young girls for the return of the other goddess of the young girls themselves, i.e. Helen.²⁵ This *Spartan* cultic interpretation is vital to maintaining the chronological sequence of the story; when the story of the *Helen* takes place, in fact, more than twenty years have passed since Helen's departure with Paris, and possibly even more since the abduction of the Leucippides. Neither Helen nor the Leucippides would be young enough to lead a girls' dance anymore; Helen had been married more than once and had at least one daughter, and the Athenian Leucippides, as discussed previously, had been married to the Dioscuri and had had their children. However, these problems do not touch the Spartan Leucippides (and Helen with them), as they still and forever are the young goddesses of the girls entering adulthood. I suggest that Euripides here does not simply picture Helen's return to Sparta in her own mythical time, but her return to a Sparta which is at the same time mythological and contemporary to Euripides' audience, a Sparta where the festival of the Hyacinthia is taking place and the Leucippides – the heroines and at the same time the priestesses by the same name – are leading a chorus, because this is their ritual function.²⁶ As already discussed in the chapter on Sparta, a web of connections ties the Leucippides to the Hyacinthia; reiterating only the most relevant clues, we have the tunic woven for Apollo, somehow connected to the temple of the Leucippides, and the critical presence of girls and their choruses during the festival. The separation of chronological levels mentioned above is necessary; if this narration happened exclusively in the world of the myth, we would assume that the Leucippides never aged and were also priestesses of themselves, ending in mythological nonsense.

The matter of the Leucippides' presence in these lines has met with scholars' attention only sporadically.²⁷ The only study which deals with some of our questions

²⁵ Cf. e.g. Calame 1977a, 333-350. According to Zweig 1999, 164, Helen could be considered as important in Sparta as Athena was in Athens; perhaps it is too strong of a statement, but she is right in seeing this goddess Helen looming behind the heroine Helen throughout the play, as we shall see below.

²⁶ According to Battezzato 2013, 109, Helen's dance with the mythological Leucippides is "the mythical model of the actual cult performed by the contemporaries of Euripides". This is clearly the right direction, but this reading implies a time skip between the time of the myth and the time of the performance, while I suggest that both of them exist at the same time in the scene described.

²⁷ Paley 1874, 215-216 was the first to write on the topic; he believed that the Leucippides mentioned here are just the two girls abducted by the Dioscuri, but, for no apparent reason, chose to translate κόρας Λευκιππίδας as "the maiden priestesses the daughters of Leucippus", implying then that they played in this occasion some cultic role, which is completely alien to the mythological Leucippides. Dale 1967,

is the recent commentary by Allan. He suggests that the Athenians would have been “familiar with the transitional-parthenaic function of such choruses, and with Helen’s identity as a role-model for Spartan girls” and, we might add, with the Leucippides’ identity too.²⁸ Nevertheless, this position is much debated. In fact, the greatest part of what we know about non-Athenian Greeks comes from Athenian sources; since literary sources are usually produced by cultural élites, the fact that an author was familiar with some foreign custom does not mechanically imply that the entirety of his audience, or even the entirety of his contemporaries, would have been familiar with the same thing.²⁹ However, we know for certain that the Hyacinthia existed and, broadly speaking, we also know what happened during the festival. It is not an absurd assumption that the Athenians knew just as much, and probably much more than we do. Euripides did not need to invent details of a festival if everyone already knew what really happened.³⁰

Therefore, we have no reason to doubt that both Euripides and the Athenians of his age knew the Hyacinthia festival well enough;³¹ however, these verses seem to imply that, more specifically, the Athenians knew something about the Spartan cult of the Leucippides and their priestesses. Clearly, this casual mention in Euripides does not imply that the Athenians knew anything more about the cult of the Leucippides than that it existed, that the Leucippides probably had some shrine or temple in Sparta (but we cannot say exactly when the temple mentioned by Pausanias was built)³² and that they had priestesses known by their same name who, possibly, were involved in the Hyacinthia. Nevertheless, they certainly had a more precise picture than we do.³³

159 seems to have only the mythological characters in mind too but does not dwell on the question at all. Kannicht 1969, 381-384, on the contrary, firmly believes that the Leucippides are here the two Spartan goddesses – the λευκὰ ἱππῶ, perfect match to the λευκὸ πῶλῶ, their divine husbands, the Dioscuri; however, he denies the presence at the same time of the priestesses of the Leucippides.

²⁸ Allan 2008, 322-323. On the connection between Sparta, Helen and Athens, cf. also Bottini 1994.

²⁹ E.g. Scullion 1999-2000 is quite sceptical about Euripides’ knowledge of cults in general, and in particular of cults from other cities, and about his interest in giving a truthful depiction of cults.

³⁰ The question is Seaford’s (2009) main point in his response to Scullion.

³¹ Moving from completely different sources, Neils 2012, 158-161 comes to the same conclusions. She identifies the female charioteers on an Attic red-figure kylix, c. 430-420 BC (J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.297), as Spartan girls during the Hyacinthia; during this festival, as discussed in the Spartan chapter, there was a procession of Spartan girls on racing chariots. Neils’ conclusions are that the painter of this cup had, probably, never seen the Hyacinthia but knew of the festival’s highlights.

³² Pausanias 3.16.1-2 (T18).

³³ Battezzato 2013, 108 states that the Athenians were perfectly aware of the Spartan rites involving the Dymainai, the Dionysiades and the Leucippides (cf. sections 2.5-2.6).

How specific this knowledge needed to be is uncertain; Euripides' scene mostly fits a stereotyped vision of Spartan maidens' dances and of the Hyacinthia. The interpretation of the Leucippides' presence, however, depends on another assumption. It is clear that, for the author and his audience, the Leucippides were the Spartan girls par excellence. If the Athenians knew them well enough to recognise them as the "Spartan girls par excellence", can we assume that they only had a very superficial and utterly stereotyped knowledge of their role in Sparta, especially considering that this role found no parallel in Athens? In other words, they could hardly fit the role of "ideal Spartan girls" without a previous – albeit partial or somehow generic – knowledge of their role in Sparta, since their identity as "Spartan παρθένοι", independent from the Dioscuri, is mostly irrelevant to the Athenian myth. From this point of view, supporting evidence comes from Alcman. The Laconian poet, notoriously, composed for and described local, cultic performances in Sparta; yet he was widely acknowledged as a classic, so much to enter the canon of lyric poets in the Hellenistic age. His poetry was well known in classical Athens, as suggested by comic mentions.³⁴ It is very likely, therefore, that some knowledge of Spartan cultic practices connected to girls' choral songs filtered into Athenian culture also through Alcman's lyrics.³⁵ The resulting knowledge would be first-hand and devoid of stereotyped filters. If we were also to take up our previous suggestion of the presence of the Leucippides in Alcman's Louvre *Partheneion*, the idea of an averagely precise knowledge of the "Spartan" Leucippides in Athens would result further strengthened.

On a similar note, a certain degree of familiarity with Spartan religion also seems to be implied by Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. At the end of the play, the Spartan delegate calls on the Spartan Muse to sing a hymn to Apollo of Amyklai, to Athena Chalkioikos and to the Dioscuri. Those are the main gods of Sparta, an obvious choice for a Spartan song; however, they also set the perfect background for the ideal picture of Sparta that follows and justifies the parallel to the *Helen*.³⁶ A chronological connection is easy to make; the *Helen* was first performed in 412 BC, the *Lysistrata* in 411 BC. They

³⁴ Carey 2011, 446 and 451; "[...] for most of the fifth century a lot of people could sing non-Athenian lyric poetry, choral or solo, or at least recognise and/or appreciate it. And this explicitly included Alcman" (Carey 2011, 447).

³⁵ Carey 2011, 448.

³⁶ Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 1297-1320.

certainly belong to the same cultural climate. In the hymn, the delegate describes Sparta as the place where κόραι dance like fillies by the Eurotas' banks, led by Helen. Although the Leucippides are not mentioned by name, this scene closely resembles the Hyacinthia revelries described by Euripides: dances of young girls by the Eurotas river, joined by Helen.³⁷ The connection to the Hyacinthia is not explicit, but Apollo of Amyklai is called upon at the beginning of the song, together with Athena Chalkioikos; her temple was the other possible location of the Leucippides' dances at the time of Helen's return in Euripides' lines. Therefore, it is possible that the Spartan delegate had in mind the same Hyacinthia festival described by Euripides' chorus a year before.

The Hyacinthia festival, in fact, was not a mystery cult, but a moment for the whole Spartan community to come together, so we can expect that word about what happened during the festival would have spread quite easily. Also, it seems clear that the Hyacinthia were open to all foreigners, too. At the festival, the main attraction for foreigners was the κόπις, the banquet,³⁸ but they probably had free access to other public events, too. Even if travel between Sparta and Athens had been interrupted during the Peloponnesian War, Athenians who had gone to Sparta before the war were certainly still alive in 412/411 BC. Many influential Athenians were connected to the Spartan nobility by relations of *xenia* (e.g. Alcibiades), which implies a certain degree of mobility between the two poleis. According to Thucydides' account of the peace treaty of 420 BC, the treaty itself was to be renewed every year, during the Dionysiae in Athens and the Hyacinthia in Sparta, with ambassadors coming from both cities.³⁹ If the treaty was ever renewed during the years of the peace of Nicias (the sources are vague on the topic), some Athenians had gone to the Hyacinthia just some years before our play.

Finally, there is another indirect source of information on the reception of the Spartan Leucippides in Athens; as discussed in our Spartan chapter, it is possible that Alcman's famous *Partheneion* dealt not only with a generic Spartan festival but more specifically with the Leucippides and their priestesses. Generally speaking, Alcman's

³⁷ According to Carey 2011, 448, "this song presupposes a general familiarity with specifically Laconian choral lyric with a strong emphasis on female deities".

³⁸ Athenaeus 4.138e-f.

³⁹ Thucydides, 5.23.5.

poetry dealt with many local myths and cults from Sparta and projected “an image of Sparta outward into the rest of Greece”.⁴⁰ Therefore, it is possible that some information on these cults moved, together with his poetry, already in the seventh century BC. From mentions in other sources (such as comic poetry), we know that many Athenians were able to recognise or even to sing non-Athenian lyric poetry for, at least, most of the fifth century, and Alcman was included among the most renowned poets.⁴¹ Consequently, if Alcman ever sang about the Leucippides, as suggested previously, it is possible, if not probable, that these songs were known to Euripides’ and Aristophanes’ audiences.

To sum up, the fragmentary nature of our sources puts limits on our knowledge of the channels of contact and transmission of myths and cults between Greek cities. Nevertheless, preserved sources often have more to offer than what is immediately perceivable. It is evident that fifth-century Athenians travelled, traded and fought with other Greeks, and Sparta was one of the political and cultural capitals of this world. Certainly, part of their knowledge of Spartans came from, and was expressed through, stereotypes; the picture of Spartan girls hopping like fillies on the banks of a river was probably a stereotypical image of the peculiar condition of women in Sparta, but we should recognise that historical evidence points in a somewhat similar direction, too. However, Euripides’ and Aristophanes’ mentions of Helen and of the Leucippides are much too specific to be stereotyped. On the other hand, they fit too well in the picture of Sparta that emerged from our Spartan chapter to be artistic licences. Also, those mentions are too casual to make sense if taken outside of their context; therefore, they imply a precise knowledge of their referents. The background of both episodes is the Hyacinthia festival; as a massive, public event, it could hardly be unknown in other cities. Therefore, it offered a perfect channel for the particular Spartan Leucippides to travel outside the Spartan borders. While their cult and peculiar competences were still felt as strictly Spartan, they became known in Athens, too.

On a different note, but on a similar topic, an Athenian pottery fragment (fig. 17) is interesting for similar reasons. It comes from an Attic red-figure krater and is among the latest depictions in our catalogue (345-335 BC). On the fragment, we recognise the

⁴⁰ Carey 2011, 444.

⁴¹ Carey 2011, 446-451.

head and the upper torso of a female, with long, curly hair cascading down her shoulders, a pearl necklace and a transparent dress. Behind her, some parts of a religious building can be recognised: an Ionian column, a fragment of an *akroterion* and traces of a side wall. On the right, a helmet is all that remains of a male figure, identifiable from the inscribed name: Polydeukes. Finally, a long wing is preserved on an upper corner of the fragment. Despite the small dimensions of the fragment, what we have is enough to identify the scene depicted; Polydeukes pursues (or probably already grasps, given the proximity of the two characters) one of the Leucippides, who flees towards a temple (the column, wall and *akroterion* seem to belong to a *naiskos*), and perhaps begs the goddess for help (as her outstretched arm seems to suggest), while Eros (to whom the stretched wing belongs) supervises the scene. Both Eros and the temple are frequently depicted in abduction scenes on pottery, as we shall see in the following sections; however, Polydeukes' appearance is highly unconventional. He wears a tall helmet, with a considerable crest, from which we could assume that he dons full armour, which is extremely uncommon for the Athenian Dioscuri and is never attested in the abduction of the Leucippides. In fact, the Dioscuri are usually depicted as ephebes, either nude or barely covered by a *himation*, and occasionally armed, but only with spears. They never don the full, hoplite panoply (helmet, heavy armour, and shield) that would liken them to mature, warrior heroes. The only exceptions can be connected directly to Spartan conventions; the warrior Dioscuri, protectors of kings, whom they accompany in war, are only seen in Sparta. There, they are not ephebes, but young warriors, with pointed beards and long hair, typical of Spartan adults, not adolescents. The limited amount of Spartan depictions preserved does not offer iconographic parallels of the Dioscuri in hoplitic gear, but their Spartan identity, as analysed in the Spartan chapter, is closer to that of hoplites than ephebes. To be sure, these heavy-armed Dioscuri do not belong to the usual Athenian tradition of the abduction of the Leucippides; however, the hoplite armour makes its appearance in the duel against the Apharetidae, as is stated in Theocritus, who mentions Castor's crest on his helmet.⁴² Our Athenian fragment is at least 50 years older than Theocritus'

⁴² Theocritus 22.186. It is useful to point out that, in Theocritus, the fight between the Apharetidae and the Dioscuri takes the form, for the first time, of a formal duel between two heroes. Only in this context does a hoplitic armour make sense, while it would have been inappropriate in the previous narrations of the fight as an irregular skirmish, as discussed in section 1.2.

poetry, but the two are still close enough chronologically to reflect a similar moment in the evolution of the Leucippides' myth. As discussed in the first chapter, the confluence of the two originally separated episodes, i.e. the abduction of the Leucippides and the duel with the Apharetidae, is a later feature of the myth; the particular taste for the local peculiarity, the exception and the half-forgotten versions is also typical of Hellenistic erudition. The vase fragment and Theocritus' piece certainly belong to the same cultural climate, in which the Spartan "oddity" offered by the hoplite Dioscuri could have been appreciated and specifically pursued.

To conclude, it seems clear that the Athenian Leucippides are not a direct offspring of their Spartan counterparts; however, people and goods moved back and forth between Athens and Sparta, and it is equally clear that the Leucippides moved with them at least from the fifth century onwards. In fact, the Leucippides are mentioned by Euripides in his *Helen* in a specifically Spartan context, and their attributes do not reflect either the Athenians' expectations of "their" Leucippides or the Athenians' expectations of Spartan stereotypes, but closely match the traits of the Spartan Leucippides analysed in the Spartan chapter, such as their connection with Helen, girls' choruses and the Hyacinthia festival. Although the Leucippides are not mentioned, a very similar scene is also described in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*. The nature itself of their theatrical appearance would not be understandable to an audience ignorant of their Spartan dimension; in fact, the "Athenian" Leucippides, mothers and wives, do not belong in the scenes of revelry described by the poets. As a consequence, it is possible to suggest some knowledge, at least on a superficial level, of the Spartan Leucippides in Athens from the end of the fifth century BC onwards.

4.2.3. *Athens and Taras*

In the previous chapter, we discussed the peculiarities of the abduction of the Leucippides in Tarantine pottery; however, we only mentioned some specific Tarantine innovations and the possible existence of Athenian models. In fact, some traits of fourth-century Tarantine paintings find their precursors in fifth-century Athenian pottery; chronological and geographical reasons would suggest an artistic influence from Athens on Taras, as trade routes moved mostly *from Athens to* anywhere else from the fifth century BC onwards, but the reality might be more complex.⁴³ In fact, those traits can be justified inside the cultural context of Tarantine art, but their independent development in Athens is considerably more difficult to explain, primarily since they represent a minority typology, entirely removed from the standards of the abduction scene. Also, the chronological separation is not so neat either; the date of the Athenian models can be lowered as far as the late fifth century BC, and the first Tarantine models are dated to precisely the same period. Clearly, we can only discuss *preserved* cases, but many ancient instances of the abduction of the Leucippides probably existed and were lost. Even though the most consistent production of abduction scenes in Taras took place in the fourth century BC, we know that the theme already existed in the previous century. Consequently, the dates of the Athenian “irregular” productions and of the Tarantine standard abduction scene are considerably closer in time than previously expected. Therefore, it is possible that the Tarantine-style abduction of the Leucippides and its Athenian counterpart developed inside a less linear relation of model and imitation but reciprocally influencing each other or depending on common models.

Let us now consider these peculiarities in detail. First, not all abductions involve chariots, even though their presence is usually one of the leading features of the abduction of the Leucippides. This alternative model makes its first appearance in Athens in the period 475-425 BC. For instance, we have a hydria (fig. 5), depicting the two Dioscuri, in the centre of the composition, pursuing two Leucippides *on foot*; they are depicted as ephebes, with a short chiton, a petasos dangling on their shoulders and two spears in their left hand. The girls appear on the sides of the composition and run

⁴³ E.g. Lippolis 2005, 95-99.

away in opposite directions, each preceded by a female companion.⁴⁴ Also, the physical appearance of the Dioscuri and of the Leucippides is not entirely identical. One Dioscurus wears a wreath on his hair, while the other has a chlamys on his shoulders; one Leucippid has a simple, sleeveless dress, while the other wears more elaborate attire, enhanced by a veil winding around her shoulders and sides. Similar differences can be found in our Tarantine examples. The same scene without chariots can also be found on a volute krater from the same period (fig. 10). The composition is quite similar, with the two Dioscuri in the centre of the scene pursuing the Leucippides, who run in opposite directions. On the sides of the scene, an older man and some scattering companions can be recognised. In this case, there are no differences between the Dioscuri, who wear a short chiton, a chlamys wrapped around an arm, a petasos on their shoulders and hold two spears in their hand. The two girls, instead, differ in their dresses and hairstyles, clearly richer and more elaborate for one of them. These differences can be read as an implicit reference to the differences in divine status between the two Dioscuri, but also between the two Leucippides. The first case is more common, as it reflects the Panhellenic version of the Dioscuri's myth, but differences between the Leucippides appear regularly only in Taras and, in this context, can be traced back to Spartan cults and traditions.

Finally, we find an Athenian example of the typical composition of the abduction scene that we have seen in Tarantine pottery: the double abduction depicted in two different moments. This composition can be considered another way to express the same idea as the cases above – the Dioscuri (and the Leucippides), although twins, are different from each other, and this separation is manifested in their different appearance and gestures.⁴⁵ On the krater here considered (fig. 6), one of the Dioscuri already leads one girl away in his running chariot. His brother, instead, is depicted at another stage of the abduction; he has not reached his chariot yet, which is nowhere in sight, but lifts another girl in his arms while walking away.⁴⁶ Exactly like in our

⁴⁴ Cf. also fig. 11; we shall come back to this vase in section 4.6 (p. 186-187). On one side, the Dioscuri, nude but for a chlamys wrapped around their left arm, aggressively pursue the Leucippides on foot.

⁴⁵ Traces of these peculiarities can be found also in fig. 3, a bobbin from the same period (475-425 BC). Cf. below (p. 206-208). The Dioscuri slightly differ from each other, as only one wears a *himation* across his shoulders; similarly, both Leucippides are veiled, but only one seems to wear a diadem. One Dioscurus already speeds away in his chariot, while the other stands in his chariot in a more static position, possibly talking to another unidentified male character.

⁴⁶ A very similar structure also appears in fig. 12, which will be discussed in detail in 4.5.

Tarantine examples, the focus of the action is on one abduction, while the other takes up less space and remains on one side of the scene; here, the focus is on the (only) chariot, over which a small Eros floats and which is sided by two scared female companions. In this case, there are no aesthetic differences between the two pairs of siblings, but it is possible that the centrality of one abduction underlies the increased importance of one Dioscurus and, perhaps, of one Leucippid too. Further, in this case (as in the Tarantine fig. 14 and 16), the chariot-riding brother is more important; our Tarantine parallels, in which the characters are named, suggest this character's identification as Castor.

In conclusion, the standard depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides in Taras share some significant traits with a small group of "irregular" Leucippides scenes in Athenian pottery: the absence of chariots, the physical differences between the two Dioscuri and the two Leucippides, and the contemporary presence of two different moments of the abduction. Since the Athenian production is slightly earlier, and it is more common for artistic trends to move from Athens to other cities than the opposite, it is easy to assume that this type of scene originated in Athens and was imported to Magna Graecia. However, the exact dates of the Athenian vases and of their Tarentine counterparts are quite uncertain and possibly much closer than usually assumed. The traits in question seem more at home in Taras, where they could have developed uninterruptedly from other typical Tarantine productions such as the *pinakes* and under the direct influence of Spartan models. A univocal answer to the question of the origins of this type of abduction is not possible at present, but it is clear that those peculiarities are not exclusive to Athens and did not develop in an insulated context; on the contrary, they show close commercial contacts between Athens and Taras and the existence of a shared artistic and cultural milieu in which this depiction typology could develop in parallel contexts, possibly under reciprocal influences.

4.2.4. Conclusions

This section aimed to shed some light on the articulated web of connections inside which the Athenian Leucippides developed. As we shall see in the following sections, the Leucippides were well known in Athens, and their myth was adapted and repeatedly used, especially in pottery painting, to express a peculiar set of values. This evolution of their characters is exclusive to Athens and reflects a local development of their story. However, the Leucippides were not “born” in Athens and did not arrive in Athens through a linear movement. From the fragmentary picture of the Leucippides that emerges in Athenian sources, it is possible to identify a considerable number of peculiarities shared with the Leucippides known in other cities. In particular, those traits can be grouped around three cities: Argos, Sparta and Taras. It is not by chance that those are three of the main hubs in the development of the myth of the Leucippides, as discussed in the previous chapters.

Political, economic and cultural contacts between those cities favoured the movement of myths from one to the other under reciprocal influences; this is particularly clear in the case of Taras, in which it is almost impossible to determine where and when the common traits originated, while in the cases of Argos and Sparta the influences are more clearly unidirectional. From Argos, the Athenians learnt of the family of the Leucippides and of their marriage, and adopted those stories for their own Leucippides, to the point that these traits made up the core of the Athenian Leucippides. On the other hand, they knew of the different Leucippides that existed in Sparta, where they led choruses of young girls and danced with them at the Hyacinthia festival; however, the Athenians also remembered the foreign nature of these Leucippides.

In order to identify what made up the Athenian Leucippides, it was vital to isolate the traits that they shared and probably inherited from their other embodiments. This enquiry also allowed us to understand the background, against which they developed, in a better way; it is now clear that the Leucippides did not appear or develop in Athens independently of external influences. On the contrary, they belonged to a broader cultural context, in which myths were adopted from other cities, appropriated and finally expanded to adapt to the local context, but could also be still identified as foreign, without undermining the local awareness of their existence and traits.

4.3 Local developments

The entirety of the instances mentioned above suggests that the Athenian myth of the Leucippides was deeply embedded in a complex network of reciprocal influences; chronological considerations force us to look for the cradle of this myth elsewhere, but this does not exclude the possibility and even the relevance of local developments of the myth. In fact, the Athenian Leucippides are not the Argive Leucippides, nor the Spartan or the Tarantine, and are also something more than the sum of these influences. The rich cultural background of Athens certainly acted as a fertile ground for the modification and adaptation of our myth. How the Leucippides were received and their story was used and interpreted in Athens is the real fulcrum of the following discussion.

As anticipated, the Athenian Leucippides share with their Argive counterparts the story of their wedding and children; how their abduction fits in the Argive story is not necessarily clear, but it is evident in Athens and makes up one of the two main peculiarities of the local version of the story. In Athens, in fact, the focus on the legitimacy of the union of the Leucippides and the Dioscuri, sanctioned by the birth of children, found its artistic counterpart in the way in which the abduction itself was depicted: the violent, chaotic scene of abduction existed side by side with (and often left the place to) a more dignified, solemn scene, closely resembling a wedding procession. In other words, the abduction was absorbed into the wedding, to the point that one implied the other, and the former was only another way to depict the latter. This phenomenon belongs to a larger context, both historical and cultural; it is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Leucippides nor of Athens, but how it interacts with the abduction of the Leucippides in Athens is particularly meaningful and will be the subject of the following section.

The other Athenian peculiarity is directly connected to the first, of which it is possibly a consequence, as we shall discuss in due course. If abduction and marriage are intrinsically connected, what precedes one should naturally precede also the other. Therefore, the abduction no longer exists in an isolated dimension, but is inserted in the familiar, structured background that precedes the wedding; the abducted Leucippides are not alone in an undefined venue when the abduction happens, but in a sanctuary, taking part in a rite for Artemis or Aphrodite (respectively the goddess of

unmarried girls and the goddess of love and desire, a fitting patroness for a bride),⁴⁷ in the midst of other girls of the same age. If the rites in the sanctuary prepare the girls for the rite of passage represented by the wedding, and abduction and wedding are easily superimposable, then the abduction *is* the rite of passage itself that marks the end of the period of initiation into adulthood.⁴⁸

However, before we move into a more articulated discussion of these points, we shall consider some other Athenian peculiarities of a lesser entity. Although not as articulated or meaningful as the ones we have just mentioned and are set to analyse in the following sections, they will still provide some useful insight into the greater questions that we are about to face.

The first traces of local reinterpretation make their appearance quite soon in vase paintings, and an example can be identified in the last vase discussed above (fig. 6). The name of one of the abducted girls, in fact, is written by her side: Eriphyle. However, the most common names of the Leucippides (especially in literary sources, but also in iconography) are Phoibe and Hilaeira. Since this alternative name is never attested in literature, we might have doubts about the identification of the scene; yet the name “Eriphyle” appears in Phoibe’s stead in contexts in which her identification as the Leucippid is out of the question (i.e. contemporary presence of Hilaeira and the Dioscuri).⁴⁹ The origins of this name are unknown. It does not seem to depend on chronological considerations, as the name Phoibe appears before, during and after this period, but it is connected to an exclusively Athenian version since it does not appear anywhere else. In fact, although the Leucippides are rarely called by their individual names but are usually known as *Leucippides*, i.e. the “daughters of Leucippus”, the names of “Phoibe” and “Hilaeira” are regularly attested both in literature and iconography, from the sixth century BC to the Imperial period and late Latin literature.⁵⁰ The reasons for this Athenian development are not clear; possibly, a syncretic fusion with a local character might be considered, or an artistic innovation that gained particular prestige. Camponetti’s position on the topic seems the most

⁴⁷ On the specific connection between Aphrodite and brides, cf. beneath.

⁴⁸ A similar idea is expressed in Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 145.

⁴⁹ Cf. also fig. 10 and 12.

⁵⁰ Occasionally, alternative spellings can be found in vases (especially in Hilaeira’s case), but the names are still clearly recognisable; in any case, this possibility does not deviate from a common practice in vase paintings, in which local spellings of names are interspersed with simple spelling mistakes.

reasonable: the name Eriphyle might have been an innovation by Polygnotos in his painting of the wedding of the Leucippides in the *Anakeion*. Given the high visibility of a large-scale painting, placed in a public location, and produced by a renowned painter, the name that appeared in it could have been copied by later vase painters. The meaning of Polygnotos' innovation in his historical context, though, remains unidentifiable.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the name "Phoibe" is not unknown in Athens either; the same Meidias Painter who uses Eriphyle in fig. 12, which we shall discuss in the following pages, depicts a *Phoiba* in Helen's entourage, among *Ilaera*, *Klytaimestra*, *Ermione*, *Phylonoe* and possibly *Arsinoe* (fig. 18).⁵² The painter clearly knew both names; his preference for one or the other might have depended on his customer. It is, perhaps, possible to suggest that the name Eriphyle was connected to a specifically Athenian taste, in particular in relation to the local use of the abduction scene (as we shall see in the following sections), while Phoibe might have been tied to a more xenophile (pro-Spartan?) attitude. In fact, the appearance of the Leucippides among Helen's family members, in a family scene that does not include either the Dioscuri or the abduction, is unique in Athens but seems to reflect more closely the independent existence of the Leucippides in Sparta.

Another typical feature of our abduction scene in Athenian pottery paintings is an old man standing or sitting apart from the action;⁵³ usually identified as Leucippus, the abducted girls' father, he looks, powerless or impassive, at the abduction or is

⁵¹ Camponetti 2007, 23. The only Eriphyle known to myth is Amphiaraus' wife, whose story is not comparable with that of the Leucippides; nevertheless, she is an Argive princess – a thin connection, but possibly worth following if the Athenian Leucippides were influenced by the Argive myth. Alternatively, some minor, local character can be suggested, although no clear explanation seems possible. Couelle 1998 and Lorenz 2007, 132-135 both read the choice of the name in the Meidias painter's vase (fig. 12) as an innovation of the artist, charged with mythological allusion. However, the nature of such an allusion remains unexplained, and both scholars seem to ignore the presence of the name Eriphyle in other vases depicting the abduction of the Leucippides.

⁵² This fragmentary vase depicts a domestic scene of mythological women, each identified by her name. Helen, characterised by an Eros sitting in her lap, is seated at the centre of the scene, while the other women of her family stand on her sides.

⁵³ Cf. fig. 3 (pp. 206-208), 4 (p. 75), 5 (pp. 186-187), 8 (p. 215), 10 (p. 187), 17 (pp. 183-184). The identification of fig. 9 is controversial, but it might be useful to compare it with the other instances just mentioned. An abduction scene is clearly recognisable, as an ephebe (chlamys, wreath, petasos, spear in hand) pursues an escaping girl by foot. A charioteer (or another abductor?) looks back to the abductor while manning a chariot, from which two other girls escape. A bearded character (Zeus?), holding a sceptre and wearing a wreath, takes part in the commotion, while another observes the scene from the side. Although not as old and weathered as the other examples considered, this figure fits the Leucippus scheme described above.

informed of the event from afar.⁵⁴ He is only one of the extra characters who make up the scene in comparison to the abductions of the Leucippides we have seen so far, but his presence is meaningful. This element is, in fact, completely alien to the myth in all its other embodiments; Leucippus is never present at the abduction, nor is he informed about it at a later stage, either in literature or in artistic depictions, except in Athens, where he is a common feature of the scene. In fact, it seems likely that he does not belong to the specific episode of the abduction of the Leucippides but fills the standard part of the “father of abducted girl” that appears in other abduction scenes or, even more meaningfully, of the “father of the bride” in wedding procession scenes.⁵⁵ Leucippus is mentioned only in literary sources, but in a slightly different context; late sources, in fact, attest his approval of the abduction. He is told to have promised his daughters to the Apharetidae, but later changed his mind (possibly through bribery) and allowed the Dioscuri to take the girls for themselves. However, this version makes its appearance only in Theocritus (*Idyll* 22) and is possibly implied by Lycophron.⁵⁶ Therefore, Leucippus is not connected directly to the abduction itself, but only to the involvement of the Apharetidae in the episode; also, this connection makes its appearance only in literature and only in the early Hellenistic period. Consequently, it seems clear that the Leucippus on fifth-century vases does not have the same purpose as the literary, later Leucippus; on the contrary, it is possible that the direct involvement of Leucippus in literary sources from the Hellenistic age was influenced by a “wrong” reading of his presence on these Athenian vases. The appearance of the girls’ father, who either attends to or is informed of the girls’ abduction, contributes to the interpretation of the abduction as a wedding, which could not happen without the father’s consent.⁵⁷ As we shall see, the wedding implications are one of the main themes of the Athenian abduction of the Leucippides; it is also easy to see how the “approval” of the father, originally depicted as him being informed of the abduction, could have evolved into a fully fledged approval of the abduction in later sources.

⁵⁴ Leucippus’ controlled demeanour in an emotionally distressing context can be interpreted as a manifestation of *sophrosyne* (McNiven 2000, 126) or of impassive acceptance and refusal to exert any form of paternal protection (Lyons 1997, 60).

⁵⁵ Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 143-144; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 32; Sutton 1997-1998, 31; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 234. On the resemblances between weddings and abductions, cf. section 4.4.

⁵⁶ Lycophron 546-549 (T10); Tzetzes *ad Lycophronem* 546-549 (T29).

⁵⁷ E.g. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 74 supposes that the figure of the father hints at the removal of the girl from her family of origin, which happens with both abductions and weddings.

To conclude, a first impression of the Athenian situation has already emerged from the sources considered; the Athenian Leucippides are the product of a complex and culturally lively background, in which elements were imported (e.g. the children of the Dioscuri), readapted (e.g. the importance of the wedding) and created (e.g. Leucippus' presence), to produce the most articulated picture of the Leucippides we possess. It is possible that some of the elements that we consider here as typical of Athens existed in other cities too; for instance, we saw an altar in the abduction scene on the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi. Nevertheless, two main reasons still suggest that these features remain firmly under the general aegis of Athens. The first is a practical consideration, as the lack of direct sources from other cities prevents us from hypothesising in any other direction; the second and more relevant reason has to do with the overall picture of the Leucippides we obtain in Athens, which is coherent and justifiable in all its parts in its geographical and cultural context.

4.4 Abduction before marriage – abduction as marriage

Having clarified the context, we shall now discuss the main peculiarities of the Athenian Leucippides. As mentioned, there are two, and both have to do with marriage. In Athens, the depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides – as of some other abductions, as we shall see – express two layers of sense: their properly mythological identity and the cultural ideas and models concerning the relationship between man and woman. In everyday life, this relationship was chiefly expressed through marriage; it followed naturally that depictions of weddings and abductions shared a common visual language, as they dealt with the same cultural matters. In these scenes, abduction and wedding conflagrate in a single moment that encompasses the wedding both actually and potentially. Consequently, the two peculiarities – abduction as a rite of passage and abduction as a wedding – often overlap.⁵⁸ The division between

⁵⁸ Avagianou 1991, 115 suggests that abduction and wedding belong to the same rite of passage, tripartite according to the pattern studied by van Gennep. The abduction represents the first phase, the rite of separation, inside the rite of initiation known as wedding, and it expresses the community reluctance to the loss of one of its members, who passes to another social group through marriage. Accordingly, it is possible to represent the whole wedding through one of its fundamental components,

one phenomenon and the other that can be found in this section is partially artificial and dependant on the greater relevance attributed now to one aspect, now to the other; in other words, we might identify them as two sides of the same coin.

This phenomenon, however, is not exclusive to Athens nor to the Leucippides. The purpose of the following discussion, instead, shall be to shed some light on the specific position of the abduction of the Leucippides inside its Athenian context from a historical, literary, artistic and socio-cultural point of view. In fact, theirs was not the only abduction connected to weddings, nor the only one to display initiatory traits; nevertheless, the systematic presence of these traits, their exceptionality in comparison to all the other sources considered so far, the specific connection with the cult of the Dioscuri and the origins of the mythological episode, and the abundance of Athenian sources make the abduction of the Leucippides a privileged field for the exploration of these more widespread tendencies. Naturally, the specificity of the Leucippides' case emerges at its best against the wider backdrop offered by the society in which they were represented. In particular, two aspects should be considered: from the social point of view, pre-wedding rituals and the wedding itself and, from the artistic and mythological point of view, the depictions of parallel myths. While the first topic is self-contained enough for us to present a complete (albeit admittedly not in-depth) picture in this context, it is not possible to offer an exhaustive catalogue of similar abduction and wedding scenes, as it would dwarf any other discussion and overshadow the purpose of our analysis itself. Therefore, I have considered only three cases (the abductions of Theseus, Thetis' abduction by Peleus and Persephone's abduction by Hades), which resemble the abduction of the Leucippides more closely. In the following pages, we shall call upon these case studies as *comparanda*; a more consistent overview of their peculiarities and, in particular, similarities and differences with the abduction of the Leucippides is offered in Appendix A.

In this section, we shall consider a catalogue of Athenian vase paintings depicting the abduction of the Leucippides. In many cases, the identification of the scene is certain, thanks to the inscribed names; in others, we can only trust compositional similarities. The main thread running through all of them is the

the abduction as dramatisation of the separation from the community of origin. On the interpretation of the wedding as rite of passage, cf. also Ferrari 2003.

simultaneous presence of two abductions, i.e. two abductors and two abducted girls; as far as I could ascertain, the abduction of the Leucippides is the only known case of this composition. Given the limited number of sources, this scene has not been considered extensively by modern scholarship, and it has even been catalogued under the more generic category of “more than one pursuer”. This poorly attested category is connected to myths of friendship (such as the adventures of Theseus and Peirithous) and usually presents two pursuers but only one girl (e.g. Helen first, Persephone then, but never the two together).⁵⁹ It fits poorly with the model of the abduction of the Leucippides, which deserves to be considered separately.

4.4.1. Wedding as abduction, abduction as wedding: a shifting boundary for a social model

As seen at the beginning of this chapter, the wedding to the Dioscuri belongs to the oldest Athenian tradition concerning the Leucippides, since it made its appearance together with the first attestation we have of the Athenian cult of the Dioscuri, inside the *Anakeion*. Therefore, we shall start our discussion from the wedding implication of the abduction.

Before going into the matter, however, we must identify its background; while the connection between the abduction of the Leucippides and wedding conventions is particularly interesting to this study, it is part of a wider cultural phenomenon. In fact, in the entire Greek world and through the centuries, an underlying trend can be identified, to think of the wedding as an abduction and of the abduction as a wedding. It is their nature as *nymphai* that connects bride and abducted girl: both marriageable but not married yet, either about to get married or just married. The *nymphē* exists somewhere between the *parthenos* and the *gyne*, in the period of passage between the non-sexuality (i.e. before the marriage) of the former and the motherhood of the latter; therefore, she is perceived as in the period of blooming sexuality.⁶⁰ Brides and abducted girls share this journey that introduces them to sexuality; the specific way can be slightly different, but the result is perceived to be the same. They live the

⁵⁹ E.g. Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 151 and 1991, 84.

⁶⁰ Andò 1996, 47-48, 55.

passage from the protection of Artemis, the chaste goddess of *parthenoi*, whose rites they used to celebrate, to Aphrodite's, the goddess of sexuality.⁶¹ Artemis was responsible for the rites that prepared a girl for the wedding, so that Aphrodite could take charge of her in her new existence as bride, in order to make her seductive and desirable in the eyes of her husband; both goddesses appear in abduction scenes, as we shall see, as the handover is acted out in front of the viewer's eyes.⁶²

This mental superimposition of two categories of events does not imply that the ancient Greeks could not distinguish between the two actions or considered them exchangeable in real life. Instead, it is the product of a specific socio-cultural environment and its values; weddings and abductions “spoke the same language” because they dealt with the same fundamental question in their society: “How are interactions between the sexes supposed to occur?” and gave similar answers.⁶³ Therefore, abduction scenes mimicked traits of wedding scenes in order to share in their aura of legitimacy, but this was made possible by the shared, pre-existing language of violence and male control that was also implied by the wedding ritual and its depictions. In fact, Greek weddings (and their depictions in general, as we shall see) were characterised by gestures such as the so-called χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ (a grasp on the wrist of the bride) and the act of lifting the bride into a chariot that clearly spoke of male control and female passivity in a similar way to abductions.⁶⁴ As we shall see in

⁶¹ Andò 1996, 55-57; Guettel Cole 1998, 33; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 217. Cf. the existence of an Aphrodite Nymphia at Troezen, protectress of *nymphai* (Pirenne-Delforge 2010, 315).

⁶² A third goddess involved in this transition in Hera, who will take charge of the woman in her role as wife. Cf. e.g. Avagianou 1991, 3-4.

⁶³ Against this interpretation, Rehm 1994, 38-39 maintains that the existence of myths such as the war between Lapiths and Centaurs (in which an attempted abduction interrupted a legitimate wedding) proves that the difference between wedding and rape was central to Athenian mythological thought. Outside the Athenian context, a similar opposition is seen by Dodson-Robinson 2010, 3 in Alcaeus 42, in which Helen's abduction is contrasted to Thetis' wedding. However, Thetis was abducted too. In both cases, it is evident that the real difference between legitimate wedding and illegitimate rape lies in the legitimacy of the former, which is based on a formal agreement between the bride's *kourios* and the groom, and not in the form or meaning of the action itself, which are comparable. An abduction that is legitimate equals to a wedding. In the words of Redfield 1982, 192, “the groom does not seize her [*sc. the bride*]; she is delivered to him”.

⁶⁴ Seaford 1987, 112; McNiven 2000, 127; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 243-244; Dodson-Robinson 2010, 10, 15; Topper 2012, 144. On a similar topic, Oakley 1995, 66-67 includes victims of rape in the category of “pseudo-brides”, who are dressed as brides and occasionally perceived as taking part in a wedding of sort. “Pseudo-brides are true brides in one crucial respect, that is the sexual union which took place, though they have not taken part in the ceremony officially recognizing this union” (Oakley 1995, 71). According to Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 240, during a wedding, a Greek woman was “*made* a wife by the physical act of intercourse”; it is easy to see how something similar was meant to happen with mythological rapes, too.

the following examples of the abduction of the Leucippides, the abductor lifts the abducted girl and deposits her in his chariot, in a gesture that finds a parallel in the wedding procession. Similarly, in the χείρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ gesture, the groom grasps the bride by the wrist and leads her away.⁶⁵ This gesture has a long and articulated story (for instance, it already appears in geometric art) and its meaning is not exclusively connected to marriage; for example, it can be found in funerary scenes in which the dead is led away by Hermes, but more often is adopted by the abductor who leads his chosen victim.⁶⁶ All three circumstances have a common, underlying meaning; the person who does the leading is in a position of power over the other, who follows passively and, possibly, unwillingly.⁶⁷ Finally, ancient sources speak of a θυρωρὸς, a doorkeeper who keeps guard in front of the *thalamos* against any rescue attempt of the bride;⁶⁸ while we should not expect any serious attempt to be made at “rescuing” the bride, and this character (usually a friend of the groom) was already the object of Sappho’s playful irony (110 L.-P.), his presence is probably another ritualised, conventional sign of the violence of marriage, as there would be no need to stage a saving for the bride if she were not perceived to be in any (albeit ritualised) danger or if she were not expected to be there against her will.⁶⁹

The overlapping of wedding and abduction, in other words, is a cultural expression of the ideal power and control over the female.⁷⁰ Depictions of weddings or abductions as weddings are not meant to be realistic in their details, but to express the conceptual frameworks of society; in this case, the nature and place in the society of femininity and the relationship between male and female.⁷¹ Stewart, for instance,

⁶⁵ Usually toward his home, as the gesture is adopted in depictions of the wedding procession that led the bride to her new house. Cf. below.

⁶⁶ Langdon 1998, 266-267; Dodson-Robinson 2010, 12.

⁶⁷ E.g. according to Avagianou 1991, 9, the gesture is a “dramatization of the bride’s separation from her family”.

⁶⁸ Pollux, *Onomastikon* 3.42.

⁶⁹ “The bride is expected to be unwilling” (Redfield 1982, 191).

⁷⁰ This is also true when seen from the opposite point of view. If the wedding is an act of force from the point of view of the man, it certainly is perceived as such by the woman too; therefore, what is ideally *acted* as an abduction by the groom, is actually *lived* as an abduction by the bride, who is forcefully removed from her family and placed in a foreign context. Cf. Avagianou 1991, 116-118. On the topic, cf. also Cohen 2010, 229-235.

⁷¹ In this respect, images and languages are similar and complementary means (cf. Topper 2012, 142-144). Vase paintings are not meant to photograph, for instance, the actual condition of women in Athens in the fifth century BC, but to transmit “the way in which femininity there and at that time was defined and described” (Ferrari 2002, 61).

proposes to read them as “male fantasies”, addressed to the all-male context of the symposium, and expressing the idea that the woman’s consent is bound to come as “her eventual recognition of and submission to the man’s superior power and better judgement”.⁷² On the same topic, we must quote Langdon: “abduction scenes are not about illegitimate unions but serve to express an ideal male-female relationship of domination and submission”.⁷³ Consequently, structural parallels in depictions of abductions and weddings are to be expected, given the common message underlying both. In fact, a willing artist had all the required means to distinguish between rape and marriage, victim and accomplice, as seen in abduction scenes preceding, contemporary with and following those here considered.⁷⁴ If he did not, he was probably reflecting the cultural expectations of his customers.⁷⁵ To be sure, emotions are not the main focus of vase paintings in the Classical period; nonetheless, gestures of surprise or pleas for help, even if conventional, are commonly found in the same abduction scene in other contexts (cf. the abduction scenes from Magna Graecia in the previous chapter, and below).⁷⁶

Unfortunately, our knowledge of Greek wedding practices is fragmentary.⁷⁷ A quick overview of our current knowledge on the topic will prove useful, nevertheless, to set the social and cultural background of the Athenian abduction of the Leucippides. As already noted in a previous chapter, an institutionalised wedding by mock abduction could have been a peculiarity of Sparta.⁷⁸ The abduction was in most cases

⁷² Stewart 1995, 74-75.

⁷³ Langdon 2006, 214, on Geometric scenes. As discussed above, the legitimacy of the act is central to the discussion. Legitimacy distinguishes between wedding and rape in real life; however, the lines get more blurred in myth and art. Abductions can be depicted as weddings and, therefore, become something in-between the two forms: a mythological abduction charged with the legitimacy and form of a wedding, apt to express an ideological set of values.

⁷⁴ Cf. Cohen 1996.

⁷⁵ Cf. studies on the cultural reluctance of the male painter to depict the *violence* of the rape in the geographical and chronological context of fifth-century Athens (e.g. Jenkins 1983, Cohen 1996, Osborne 1996). The painter deliberately takes a “male-favouring” position, which represents the woman as going willingly with her captor, in a context where no difference can be found between the forceful abduction and the “voluntary” wedding. Obviously, mythological vase paintings do not necessarily reflect a common perception of reality among their contemporaries; however, they belong to a cultural *milieu* and reflect the wider expectations of society.

⁷⁶ Women are not supposed to show emotions in art, but at the same time myth is the natural stage for emotional manifestations. On the topic, cf. Bobou 2013.

⁷⁷ The juridical and institutional dimension of the Greek marriage of the Classical period is still not univocally clear. Possibly, it was less defined than expected by modern scholarship. Cf. Vernant 1973.

⁷⁸ Cf. section 2.3. Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 15.4-9 (T14). Something similar is also implied by Athenaeus 13.555c (Hermippus F. 87 W.), who narrates a curious custom from Sparta: boys and girls of

a formality, agreed between the bride's father and his soon-to-be son-in-law, and certainly it was not the only existing form of wedding;⁷⁹ the scarcity of literary sources, actually, points in the direction of an increasingly disused relic from the past or, more generally, a practise limited to isolated cases.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, its mere existence is significant for this discussion. Anyhow, in most Greek contexts, a fine line separated the outer appearance of an abduction properly intended and the conventional gestures of possession and ritualised "violence" as a Greece-wide phenomenon.⁸¹ The majority of the known details about weddings, however, refer to the Athenian wedding, which is convenient for our current discussion, as we set out to analyse the Athenian context in particular.

An Athenian wedding was a highly formalised event, rich in rituals, conventions and symbolic meanings, that spanned three whole days. It is not appropriate to dwell on a detailed description in this context, as other scholars have already done so scrupulously.⁸² Henceforth, we shall focus only on the wedding procession, which took place during the evening, after the great banquet at the house of the bride's family.⁸³ In fact, this is the moment of the wedding ceremony that is most closely connected to abductions and, in particular, to their artistic depictions, as we shall see. This procession led the newly wedded couple from the bride's house to the groom's house, where they were to live thereafter. Bride and groom rode in a cart, accompanied by torchbearers (among whom stood the bride's mother); the bride was still veiled, as

marriageable age were locked in a dark room and the boys "chased" after any girl to make her their wife. Although the tale's historicity is doubtful, it strengthens the connection between abduction-like weddings and Sparta. An episodic wedding by (or at least with) abduction is attested by Herodotus 6.65.2, in which Demaratos "abducted" (ἀρπάσας) Perkalon, who was engaged to Leotychidas, and had her as his wife. It might be useful to compare this model of "wedding by abduction" to the Cretan homosexual practise of ritual abductions of young males; a mature *erastes* would abduct a chosen boy and take him far from the city, where they would spend no more than two months feasting and hunting. Such a practise had a clear initiatory value and followed a ritual that imitated a wedding. On the topic, cf. Schnapp 1997, 126-133.

⁷⁹ Pomeroy 2002, 42 calls it "a ritual enactment of a prearranged betrothal".

⁸⁰ On the Spartan wedding, cf. Cartledge 1981; Paradiso 1986, Bogino 1991, Patterson 1998, 77-79; Pomeroy 2002, 39-47; Kulesza 2008.

⁸¹ On the topic, cf. Dodson-Robinson 2010, 2 and Dipla 2017, 134 on Sappho.

⁸² Cf. Oakley and Sinos 1993; Rehm 1994; Perentidis 1995; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 230-241.

⁸³ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 26-28; Rehm 1994, 14; Perentidis 1995, 189; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 232-235.

suggested by iconography (see below), and distinguished by rich adornments, decorated clothes and in particular a crown or garland, which also adorned the groom.⁸⁴

The wedding procession is the most common wedding scene in Attic black-figure vases.⁸⁵ On them, we recognise the fundamental traits of real-life processions, such as the chariot with the veiled bride and the groom, the procession of friends and relatives bearing torches, and even the two houses between which the procession moves. However, vase paintings are not meant to be realistic depictions of weddings, but to give an idealised image of them. Therefore, real-life details mix with heroic suggestions and divine presences;⁸⁶ for instance, the use of a horse-drawn chariot instead of mule-drawn carts uplifts reality to a mythological dimension.⁸⁷ Chariots are, in fact, the means of transportation of heroes and gods, and a typical feature of many mythological abductions and their depictions; we have already seen some examples of the abduction of the Leucippides, but we could also mention Hades and Persephone or Theseus and Antiope or Helen.⁸⁸ Both abductions and heroic weddings are under the auspices of Aphrodite, and it is not uncommon to find her in either scene; Eros starts appearing in both types of scenes at a later date.⁸⁹ The typical bride stands straight and unmoving, staring in front of herself or modestly downward while holding onto the chariot, touching her veil with one hand, in the so-called *anakalypsis* gesture.⁹⁰ Her body language does not transmit any emotion but quiet and passive acceptance.⁹¹ While the attire of a real-life bride was certainly unmistakable, brides in vase painting are quite similar to the other participating females and are distinguished more by their

⁸⁴ Avagianou 1991, 10-11; Rehm 1994, 14; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 220.

⁸⁵ Cf. Webster 1972, 106; Avagianou 1991, 107; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 28; Lissarrague 1996, 424; Gondek 2011, 75-79.

⁸⁶ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 28-30; Shapiro 1993, 195.

⁸⁷ Avagianou 1991, 110; Rehm 1994, 14; Sutton 1997-1998, 28, 40. Also, chariots connect to a series of equally dignified contexts such as heroic war, Panhellenic victories and initiatory rites (cf. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 44; Dodson-Robinson 2010, 12). In addition to those occasions, it is possible that weddings also shared some traits with sacrificial processions and funerals, thus adding to their solemnity (Avagianou 1991, 16; Ferrari 2002, 190-194; Ferrari 2003, 35-37). The ancient sources mention mule-drawn carts exclusively (ζεῦγος ἡμιονικόν), while an overwhelming majority of artistic depictions prefer the horse-drawn chariot; this seems to exclude the possibility of an issue of status or wealth.

⁸⁸ In the present section, we shall mention a series of other mythological examples that share common traits with the abduction of the Leucippides; we shall come back to them in detail in Appendix A.

⁸⁹ On the appearance of Eros in wedding processions under the influence of mythological weddings and abductions, cf. Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45; Sutton 1997-1998, 32-40. For iconographic parallels, cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1973 and Barringer 1995.

⁹⁰ Cf. below.

⁹¹ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 31; Sutton 1997-1998, 28.

position inside the scene than by their dress, exactly like abducted girls amid their companions, as we shall see.⁹² The departing chariot of the newly wedded husband and wife is surrounded by friends and relatives, among whom are the family of origin of the girl; we may recognise her mother and her father, but also a group of crying companions, who say goodbye to their friend who is leaving for a new life.⁹³ While the first two traits here mentioned are shared by many abductions, the following wedding peculiarities are rarer in abductions. We shall come back to them individually in a moment, in order to point out their relevance in relation to the abduction of the Leucippides.

Before doing so, we shall consider a last relevant point. The majority of Athenian depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides come from the period 475-425 BC and are on red-figure vases. However, red-figure vases introduced some important innovations in the depiction of weddings; for instance, they marked the end of the prevalence of wedding processions, which were juxtaposed to other moments of the wedding, such as dances, ritual baths and the preparation of the bride.⁹⁴ The procession itself changed; the chariots became rarer, and characters moved on foot, the groom in front, securely grasping his wife by the wrist in the χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ gesture, discussed above.⁹⁵ However, the older scheme (with chariots) still survived in some generic, i.e. non-mythological, weddings (e.g. BM 1920.12-21.1, a red-figure pyxis dated to c.440 BC depicting a wedding procession, or the loutrophoros Berlin F 2372, dated to c.430 BC, which depicts the groom lifting the bride into a chariot)⁹⁶ and a very specific and limited number of abductions, in particular the Leucippides' and Persephone's. It is useful to point out the peculiarity of the Leucippides' fit into this context immediately; in fact, the abduction of Persephone had a long and prestigious tradition that described it as an abduction by chariot (cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*). The Leucippides did not. In this selected group of depictions, however, the abduction of the Leucippides is dominant; as far as we are aware, the tradition concerning Persephone is barely attested

⁹² Gondek 2011, 80-81.

⁹³ Avagianou 1991, 17.

⁹⁴ Avagianou 1991, 108; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45.

⁹⁵ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 32-34, 44-45; Rehm 1994, 30; Gondek 2011, 75-76, 79. It has been suggested that, despite the forcefulness implied by the gesture, the violence and abduction-like tones are mitigated by the direct stare between groom and bride, which suggests intimacy and complicity (Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45-46; Rehm 1994, 36; Sutton 1997-1998, 27-29).

⁹⁶ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 30-32.

in Athenian iconography.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, it seems relevant that this wedding trait is preserved in abduction scenes ripe with wedding undertones.

Finally, another innovation in red-figure wedding scene is the apparent age of the characters depicted. In fact, the age gap between married couples in real life was notoriously wide and somehow reflected in most black-figure vases, in which the groom was depicted as a bearded and, therefore, mature man, but this trait disappears from later wedding paintings.⁹⁸ The bride is a young woman, but also the groom is a young, beardless man.⁹⁹ Consequently, the iconographic conventions of the ephebic abduction and of the wedding blend together in a common scheme.

In conclusion, the resemblance between the abduction of the Leucippides and a wedding, which we shall discuss in detail in the following section, is significant in relation to the depictions of the same scene in other contexts and of parallel scenes in the same context; however, connections between weddings and abductions are not peculiar to Athens nor to the Leucippides. As emerged from this overview, Greek culture at wide tended to think of and to present abductions as weddings and weddings as abductions. Elements of ritualised “violence” and domination over the female are proper of the traditional Greek wedding as much as of abductions. Both events, in fact, expressed the same set of ideals in the dynamics between man and woman, which can be summed up as male control and passive female acceptance. The bride and the abducted girl undergo the same transformation in identity and social position, the same introduction to sexuality and the same passage from Artemis’ protection to Aphrodite’s teachings. A very fine line separates myth from reality in this case, as myth reflects reality, and reality finds its justification in myth; from the internal point of view of a Greek man, the two realms deal with the same questions and must offer the same answers. On top of the ideological identification, a series of collateral traits contributed to the creation of a visual identity between wedding depictions and some abduction scenes: the assimilation of genre scenes to heroic scenes, for instance through the appearance of gods and the substitution of carts with chariots; the

⁹⁷ On the topic, cf. Appendix A.

⁹⁸ On the age gap, cf. Brulé 1987, 361-367.

⁹⁹ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 45; Sutton 1997-1998, 30. A similar process is also attested, for instance, in Theseus’ abduction of Helen (cf. Appendix A), although the purpose in this specific case is mostly apologetic.

persistence of the abduction scene with chariots; the levelling of the age gap between bride and groom.

4.4.2. *The abduction of the Leucippides or the Leucippides' wedding?*

Having considered the underlying net of socio-cultural similarities between wedding and abduction, we shall now move back to the core of our discussion, the Leucippides. Naturally, the abduction of the Leucippides exists in a larger context together with other abductions with similar traits. Some are attested from an earlier date, others from a later one; some will be considered more in detail in an appendix and occasionally referred to as *comparanda* in the following pages.¹⁰⁰ The aim of this discussion, however, is to analyse how the traits discussed above are specifically present in the abduction of the Leucippides and in particular in depictions of this myth on Attic pottery, their use and meaning. In particular, we shall discuss how the wedding connection was particularly relevant because of its mythological and religious justification inside the Athenian cult of the Dioscuri and was not only a by-product of artistic and generically thematic similarities.

The abduction of the Leucippides is, in fact, a privileged case study for the wedding influences on abduction scenes. First, regular traits can be recognised in a statistically significant number of cases; compared to other abductions, the abduction of the Leucippides presents quite a static structure. The most frequent type of abduction depiction is the one on chariots, which closely resembles the wedding procession from black-figure paintings. However, all the examples considered are Attic red-figure and, at least, some decades younger than the last black-figure wedding processions. Contemporary vase painters preferred *χείρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ* scenes for both wedding processions and abductions, but our scene is depicted in quite a conservative way. On the other hand, the connection between abduction and wedding plays a specific role in the case of the Leucippides. There are many mythological abductions, only a few of which are followed by a wedding. It is plausible that the two episodes, abduction and wedding, originally separated, were depicted in a single scene: an

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Appendix A.

abduction that already suggested its outcome, a wedding.¹⁰¹ Among these cases, we should at least mention the abduction of Thetis by Peleus, although the abduction and the wedding procession are usually two separate and clearly distinguishable scenes in this case.¹⁰² However, just a very limited number of cases includes an abduction followed by a wedding that also has cultic relevance. We should not forget that it is a peculiarity of the Athenian (and Argive) myth of the Dioscuri (and its reception in the respective temples of the Dioscuri) to include a wedding and the birth of children.

Having set this background, it is noteworthy that the closest parallel with the story of the Leucippides is offered by the abduction of Persephone. Persephone, in fact, was abducted by a god, Hades, and became his wife and a “new” goddess herself, sharing in her husband’s powers on the Underworld.¹⁰³ While we cannot prove that the Leucippides were considered goddesses in Athens and received a cult together with their husbands, which seems unlikely, they were abducted by gods (or, at least, heroes who would become gods), the Dioscuri, and became their wives. The fact that the Dioscuri would become gods only after their death does not seem to be relevant; their wives, in fact, despite belonging to the purely mortal part of their life, still appear inside their husbands’ temple, the *Anakeion*, together with the Dioscuri’s adventure with the Argonauts. This seems to suggest that the separation between episodes concerning the “mortal” Dioscuri and their afterlife and cult was not felt as significant to their cult. It does not seem to be by chance that the abduction of the Leucippides and the abduction of Persephone are the two cases in which the traditional scheme of abduction with chariots survives the longest in vase painting, as we shall see. However, this scene is barely attested in Attic pottery and would give, therefore, a less relevant contribution to our discussion. It is crucial to stress that all abductions can have chariots and dignified girls resembling brides, and some other abductions were also followed by weddings (e.g. the stories of Peleus and Thetis and of Pelops and Hippodameia); however, it seems that the ensuing wedding (if present at all) rarely

¹⁰¹ Oakley 1995, 66 proposes that “the wedding iconography is used to indicate the outcome” of an abduction in general.

¹⁰² The wedding procession of Peleus and Thetis as a model for real-life weddings in Buxton 1994, 197-198. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁰³ Cf. Appendix A.

played such a crucial role in the Athenian myth as in the case of the Leucippides.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the relevance of this type of depiction in connection to the Leucippides specifically cannot be denied. Following this train of thought, it is even possible to suggest that the abduction of the Leucippides was one influential actor in the diffusion of this iconographic model (i.e. abduction as a wedding, on a chariot).

As far as the Leucippides are involved, it seems plausible that the iconographic equivalence between abduction and wedding came first, under the influence of a general trend in abduction depictions, also connected to the presence of the wedding of the Dioscuri inside their Athenian temple.¹⁰⁵ The identification of the abduction's background with a sanctuary where the soon-to-be abducted girls and their peers are celebrating a rite of young girls could have come later, as a consequence of the former, as we shall see in detail in the next section. Anyhow, an exact sequence of the two features in the abduction of the Leucippides and among the material sources attesting them is impossible to pinpoint, as most sources come from the same period, 475-425 BC. In this same period, all the considered features make their appearance and reach their full development: the wedding parallel, the sanctuary, the girls' peers, but also Leucippus' presence and the name of Eriphyle.

Our first example is one of the most interesting and challenging pieces in our catalogue, a red figure, white-ground bobbin (fig. 3) produced and found in Athens, already mentioned in the previous section. A bobbin is a small, circular object, painted on both sides, made by two disks joined in the centre by a cylindrical crosspiece, distinctively similar to a yo-yo, but obviously too delicate and heavy (being made of clay) to be used as such.¹⁰⁶ Shapiro first suggested its identification as an *iunx*;¹⁰⁷ an *iunx* is a magical instrument, described as a "mad bird pinned to a four-spoked wheel" in literature (Pindar, *Pythian* 4.213-219), used in erotic magic. Its exact function is still

¹⁰⁴ The main exception would be the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, which followed an abduction and was often depicted as a wedding procession. However, the Athenian painters largely preferred another type of scene, an abduction by foot that resembled a wrestling match, which shall be discussed in appendix A. Cf. Barringer 1995, 69-94.

¹⁰⁵ It might be useful here to remind the reader that the decoration of this temple is attributed by Pausanias to Polygnotus and Mikon and, therefore, it has been dated to the second quarter of the fifth century BC. The building itself might have been even older as, according to Polyaeus, it already existed under Peisistratus. Cf. section 4.2.1.

¹⁰⁶ On the topic, cf. Wehgartner 1983, Shapiro 1985, Faraone 1993, Steinhart 2003, Neils 2006.

¹⁰⁷ Shapiro 1985, 115.

debated – causing a sympathetic spinning motion of the head and feelings of the victim, who will yield, confused, to the practitioner; or causing a sympathetic state of madness and torture in the victim, until they voluntarily run to the practitioner.¹⁰⁸ Probably, a clay iunx would have been too heavy and fragile to be actually spun, so our clay items should be interpreted as votive offerings, “translating” the original, used object (perhaps in wood) in a medium suitable to be hung and exposed.¹⁰⁹

In the scene, Castor (identified by the written name *Kastoros*) and another youth (*scil.* Polydeukes) lead two girls away in their running chariots.¹¹⁰ Four other females escape. An older man (*scil.* Leucippus, as discussed above) stands by, leaning on his cane. The only background element depicted is a single palm tree. The scene unfolds in a circular motion along the border of one side of the item. In the middle, the decoration is heavily damaged and cannot be recognised with certainty; possibly, Eos abducting one of her reluctant lovers (Cephalus or Cleitus?). On the other side of the bobbin, Europa rides the bull – Zeus in disguise – who, according to the myth, is taking her to Crete. Around Europa’s scene, we find a deployment of characters of uncertain identity: females and youths with spears, all in relaxed positions or somehow busy in their quiet, everyday activities, interspersed with natural elements, in particular, palm trees. Despite the absence of violent actions or interactions of any sort between the characters, the presence of palm trees (as we shall see, typical of Artemis’ sanctuaries) and the ephebic attire of the youths make us suspect some thematic connection with the other scenes; possibly, we see the preparation stages before an abduction. It is evident that abductions are the main theme of the bobbin’s decoration. Bobbins are not a particularly common item, but most preserved bobbins are, in fact, decorated with abduction scenes or, more generally, erotic subjects, which greatly contributes to their identification as erotic votive offerings.¹¹¹

For our purposes, of particular interest are the Leucippides. They are both in a static position, solemn in their veiled forms, looking straight in front of them, no traces

¹⁰⁸ The latter interpretation is convincingly demonstrated by Faraone 1993.

¹⁰⁹ Shapiro 1985, 117.

¹¹⁰ Faure 1985, 64 suggests that the abduction of Europa to Crete, depicted on a metope of the Sicyonian Monopteros in Delphi, was thematically connected to the Dioscuri too, since Theseus will slaughter the Minotaur, son of the wife of Minos, son of Europa, and the Dioscuri will defeat Theseus, abductor of their sister Helen. The connection seems quite weak.

¹¹¹ Shapiro 1985, 115.

of panic or regret, nor trying to escape their abductors. Everything in their stance seems to suggest a wedding procession more than an abduction: solemnity, acceptance, and eyes fixed straight in front of them.¹¹² At this point, it is useful to clarify what is meant when talking about the lack of manifested emotions in our abducted girls.

Greek vase paintings usually avoid the use of facial expressions; however, emotions can be expressed through body language.¹¹³ Body language is not strictly naturalistic either, and conventional gestures might not meet the expectations of a modern observer. Nevertheless, stylised gestures that recur in similar, emotionally charged scenes are meant to express specific emotions, and we should expect them to have been perfectly understandable to a contemporary audience.¹¹⁴ Fear, in particular, is a common reaction of women to violent episodes that take place in vase paintings.¹¹⁵ For instance, they throw up their arms to express fear and surprise; it is a stylised but understandable gesture of alarm or plea for help. This action is particularly frequent among spectators of the action, for example, the companions of an abducted girl,¹¹⁶ but pursued girls can manifest their fear through the same gesture, too.¹¹⁷ The emotional tone of the scene can also be set by the actions themselves; running (i.e. escaping), struggling positions and dishevelled clothes all communicate the girl's frantic resistance, too.¹¹⁸

However, this scheme does not apply to the girls abducted on chariots and, in particular, to the Leucippides. The absence of any emotional reaction is noteworthy because it is neither the only nor the most common possibility for girls who either witness or live through a violent episode first-hand. In our case, this happens because agitated gestures are not appropriate for a bride, nor are open signs of non-acceptance of the wedding itself. Again, a bride does not take part actively in the wedding. She is expected to sit or stand still and emotionless as an object of display.¹¹⁹ Therefore,

¹¹² Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 67-68. Alternatively, brides lower their stare in a modest demeanour.

¹¹³ Mylonopoulos 2017, 78-79.

¹¹⁴ Mylonopoulos 2017, 74, 83.

¹¹⁵ McNiven 2000, 125.

¹¹⁶ E.g. fig. 5 and 6.

¹¹⁷ McNiven 2000, 126. E.g. fig. 5, 7 and 10.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the struggling Antiope abducted by Theseus (e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Antiope II, 4-13), in some cases by chariot, the fight suggested by the wrestling position adopted by Peleus while abducting Thetis, often accompanied by her raised hands, and the Nereids scattering in fear in the same scene (cf. Appendix A for references).

¹¹⁹ Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 242-244.

stillness and emotionlessness are typical of depictions of brides, not of girls who endure some form of violence; it is, in fact, tolerated for them to express fear through their – albeit stereotyped – gestures.

Also, the Leucippides on the bobbin wear veils on their heads, which also seem to allude to a wedding.¹²⁰ To explain this statement, we need to take a step back and consider their gestures. A considerable number of adult females in vase paintings are depicted as veiled, and most of them interact with their veil in a peculiar gesture, known to moderns as *anakalypsis*; they lift or simply hold with one hand the edge of the veil that covers their head or at least the nape of their neck.¹²¹ For a long time, the gesture itself has been read as a wedding gesture.¹²² It is undeniable that the bride's veiling and unveiling played a relevant part in the symbolism of wedding ceremonies;¹²³ however, the gesture of the *anakalypsis* had a more generic meaning, as it represented the status of a woman as married. In fact, it can be recognised in contexts that are not connected to marriage, such as funerary or departure scenes, and it appears exclusively when the women depicted are married (including goddesses such as Amphitrite, Aphrodite and Hera) or brides.¹²⁴ Therefore, the *anakalypsis* recalls the *anakalypteria* (the ceremony of unveiling of the bride during the wedding)¹²⁵ as an important passage from unmarried to married but does not reproduce it. Consequently, abducted girls (such as the ones on the bobbin here considered) can be veiled and make this gesture exactly like brides and wives, because this is what they are metaphorically becoming through the abduction.¹²⁶ Even without immediately

¹²⁰ Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 140 and 1991, 69; Deschodt 2011, 4.

¹²¹ Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 98-110, and in particular 102-105, where he proposes the more neutral definition of “veil-gesture”, as the name *anakalypsis* implies that the action should be read as an unveiling but, depending on the context, it could depict the act of veiling as well.

¹²² An overview of scholarship on the topic can be found in Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 101.

¹²³ Unveiling herself could have been the way required from the bride to express her formal consent to the wedding (Rehm 1994, 17), but recent scholarship has suggested that the bride was unveiled by a *nympheutria* and maintained, therefore, a role of complete passivity throughout the ceremony (Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 110, 241-242). The bride's veil, in addition, symbolised her adhesion to the cultural norm, her individual expression of *aidos* in a foreign context populated by strangers, and her ritual separation from her previous state as *parthenos* (Cairns 1996, 154; 2001, 24 and 2002, 76, 81).

¹²⁴ Oakley and Sinos 1993, 30; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 103; Deschodt 2011, 5-6. However, cf. Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 104 for use by unmarried women as an expression of modesty.

¹²⁵ On the *anakalypteria*, Pherekydes, DK48. Cf. Oakley 1982; Perentidis 1995, 196-201; Ferrari 2002, 186-190; Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 227-241.

¹²⁶ Another layer of meaning is added by the consideration that the abducted girls are also objects of unwanted sexual attention, to which they react by covering their face to express their modest *aidos*; however, the two aspects coexist as manifestations of the same *aidos* (Cairns 1996, 152-154).

referring to a specific moment of the wedding ceremony, the meaning of the gesture in this context is clear and suggests the new status of the abducted girl as “married”. Naturally, the *anakalypsis* is not a necessary element of this scene (e.g. it is absent in fig. 6), but it should be noted that it is extremely rare in abduction scenes that do not fit this scheme. Pursued girls escaping by foot do not make this gesture;¹²⁷ even in cases in which a wedding is the well-known outcome of the abduction, the gesture is uncommon.¹²⁸

A comparable scene appears on a double-register calyx-krater (fig. 4);¹²⁹ the Dioscuri, identical in appearance, lead the Leucippides away in their chariots. The two girls are in a static, solemn position, and do not try to escape their abductors or show traces of distress; they wear an elaborate hairstyle, long, covering chitons, and possibly wreaths or diadems over their veils. In this scene, three details that we have not observed so far make their appearance: the Dioscuri both wear wreaths, as is typical of banqueters and grooms;¹³⁰ the girls wear ornate diadems, similarly to brides during the wedding ceremony;¹³¹ each girl holds the reins of the chariot she rides. This last detail is particularly meaningful for its nuptial undertones; in fact, it is a gesture of the bride in depictions of wedding processions, as it symbolises the complete acceptance of marriage by the girl through her active participation in it.¹³² It is not the gesture of a terrorised girl who has just been abducted, but of a secure bride who calmly takes part in her wedding procession. The same gesture can also be found in fig. 6, a calyx-krater already mentioned in the previous sections that depicts one Dioscurus leading a girl away on his chariot, while the other, on foot, lifts another girl in his arms.¹³³ The

¹²⁷ A partial exception can be found in fig. 12, in which both Leucippides make the *anakalypsis* gesture, but only one is already in her abductor’s chariot. The other, securely held by her captor, has already ceased her struggle and, through her gesture, seems to have accepted her sister’s same fate.

¹²⁸ E.g. it appears in the abduction of Thetis by Peleus on the kylix Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 539, but not in most other depictions of the same scene. In the struggle of Peleus and Thetis, the dominant theme seems to be the hunt and domestication of the “wild” female through marriage and to marriage itself. Cf. Appendix A.

¹²⁹ The scene has already been discussed in section 2.4 because of the appearance of Apollo, possibly as father of the abducted girls. Cf. Oakley 1984, 119-121.

¹³⁰ On grooms’ wreaths, cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 148 and Avagianou 1991, 88.

¹³¹ Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 148.

¹³² E.g. Hera in Avagianou 1991, 90. This does not imply that a bride had any *active* part in her wedding in real life; vase paintings reflect an idealised, often romanticised picture of a wedding. Cf. above.

¹³³ On the other side of the krater, we find a Gigantomachy. A thematic connection between the two episodes is impossible to find, but there are some compositional similarities. The multi-levelled composition in both scenes strikingly reminds of a parallel pictorial technique, used by Polygnotos and

scene is quite animated, with several females running by the sides of the chariot, their arms raised in a gesture of surprise and fear, and the horses of the chariot galloping. The two Leucippides, however, seem to exist in a different, solemn dimension; they both look in front of them, their bodies almost perfectly straight, and their dresses elegantly falling around them. Each of them lifts a hand in a gesture that completely lacks any urgency or panic but resembles a dignified greeting. An Eros is recognisable among the other characters; his presence is typical of wedding depictions, too.¹³⁴ Another similar scene can be recognised in fig. 12, which we shall analyse in the following section. For the time being, suffice to say that the two Leucippides, although depicted in different moments of the abduction, do not show apparent signs of distress or panic while they both cover their head with a veil. In particular, the stance of the girl in the chariot is extremely solemn.¹³⁵

To sum up, the abduction of the Leucippides exists inside of a specific historical and cultural context, as seen in the previous section, in which the ideological and visual border between wedding and abduction is marked by a very fine line. Against this background, the Leucippides can be used as a successful example of a general process, but also as an interesting case study with peculiarities connected to the Athenian reception of their myth and the cult of their husbands, the Dioscuri. In fact, the abduction of the Leucippides is not just a generic abduction but belongs to the limited pool of mythological abductions that end in a wedding and, among those, one of the even fewer that involve a divine wedding with repercussions on a cult. From this point of view, the most relevant parallel can be found in the abduction of Persephone, which shares the regular scheme of abduction by chariot with the Leucippides' episode but is considerably rarer in Attic pottery. This apparently secondary episode, therefore, had a specific iconography that was not altered frequently, reflected the Athenian cult of

his successors in large-scale paintings in order to give an idea of depth. Nonetheless, it does not imply an immediate connection between the two *media* – a vase painter did not need to have in mind a precise large-scale painting in order to create something that followed the same “style”, as the evolutions in the two artistic means are parallel and influenced by each other. Cf. Sanches 2008; Hurwit 2014; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2014. Nevertheless, it is suggestive to point out that Polygnotos painted the marriage (γάμος) of the Leucippides in the Athenian temple of the Dioscuri, and that he was active in the middle of the fifth century BC, i.e. the same period to which this vase is dated.

¹³⁴ Cf. Cohen 1996.

¹³⁵ Nicole 1907, 59. Boardman 1979, 146 speaks of “ballet-like posturing”. Burn 1987, 16-17 underlines the total absence of any symptom of fear and distress in the girls; the scene feels more like a romantic elopement than a rape.

the Dioscuri and interpreted the abduction-as-wedding motif with distinctiveness. It seems that the spread and relevance of this mythological episode inside the Athenian context have been long understated.

4.5. The abduction as a rite of passage: the sanctuary

A typical feature of Athenian abduction scenes in general is the collective dimension of the scene itself;¹³⁶ the Leucippides' abduction is not excluded from this trend. In our analysis of the abduction in the previous chapters, both in literature and visual arts, we regularly found the same characters, all involved directly in the action: the two Dioscuri, the two Leucippides, occasionally some charioteers and even the Apharetidae. Only in rare cases did we identify another category of characters, the Leucippides' companions. Those characters are, instead, typical of Athenian depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides,¹³⁷ insofar as they are typical of Athenian abduction scenes in general.¹³⁸ The presence of scattering companions is a common feature of abduction scenes throughout Greek culture;¹³⁹ for this analysis, we shall consider the specific, constant traits of these characters in Athenian pottery and, in particular, their exceptionality in scenes involving the Leucippides, under the influence of Athenian parallels and the Athenian cultural context, as we shall see.

The companions are part of the world that the abducted/newlywed woman is leaving behind. Often, they run towards a father figure, looking for protection, since they still belong to his sphere of authority, unlike the abducted girl.¹⁴⁰ In fact, in our case, they can be read as the ones who bring the news of the abduction of his daughters to Leucippus, as seen in the previous section. Their presence is deeply intertwined with a typical feature of the Athenian abduction of the Leucippides, its ritual

¹³⁶ On the topic of typical features, cf. also Topper 2007, 81-85.

¹³⁷ Fig. 2 (p. 217), 3 (pp. 206-208), 4 (p. 75), 5 (pp. 186-187), 6 (pp. 187-188), 9 (p. 192), 12 (pp. 214-218), 17 (pp. 183-184).

¹³⁸ A poignant parallel can be found in the Athenian depictions of the abduction of Thetis by Peleus, in which the escaping Nereids are a frequent feature. Cf. Appendix A and Barringer 1995.

¹³⁹ E.g. Persephone is said to have been abducted while gathering flowers in the midst of her peers (the Oceanids, Artemis and Athena, according to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*) in many traditions. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁴⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 144; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 74.

implications.¹⁴¹ In fact, the Leucippides and their companions are often taking part in a collective rite – they are a chorus – when the abduction happens.¹⁴² The location is a sanctuary, either of Artemis or Aphrodite; sometimes it is depicted in its entirety, but more often it is only suggested by an altar or the goddess’ *xoanon*.¹⁴³ Neither the sanctuary nor the rite itself are recognisable, but the meaning is clear; it is a liminal sanctuary, in which the girls celebrate specific rites to mark their passage from unmarried *parthenoi* to marriageable adults.¹⁴⁴ The abduction, therefore, concludes their preparation for marriage by making them assume the identity of *nymphai*, i.e. brides.¹⁴⁵ Artemis’ sanctuaries are the typical location of many myths that deal with rapes and abductions.¹⁴⁶ In Athens, in fact, it seems that the wedding traits of the abduction of the Leucippides were strictly intertwined with iconographic influences from other maidens’ abductions.¹⁴⁷ Also, the sanctuary added a touch of realism to the story; those sanctuaries were, in fact, among the few places where it would have been easy to find girls in the open and unprotected.¹⁴⁸ This trait, therefore, is directly connected to the images’ users’ experience; their contemporary girls taking part in rites of passage in sanctuaries found their models in similar girls (i.e. mortal heroines) from the mythical past. Goddesses, instead, live in a separate dimension and do not need to

¹⁴¹ Ferrari 2002, 90.

¹⁴² Cf. Goff 2004, 90-91. Only in the scenes of the wedding-procession type are we usually unable to recognise sanctuary elements; the two types (sanctuary and wedding) represent two consecutive moments.

¹⁴³ Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 142: “The altar on its own denotes a sanctuary”.

¹⁴⁴ This is not the appropriate place to discuss those sites in detail; cf. e.g. Artemis at Brauron for Athens.

¹⁴⁵ A similar process can be identified in the mock abduction and the following rituals of the Spartan wedding. Cf. Paradiso 1986, 144. Rituals that take place before the wedding do not change the status of the girl but prepare her to the change of status that is the wedding (cf. Goff 2004, 98).

¹⁴⁶ E.g. the tradition reported by Pausanias (4.4.2) according to which the First Messenian War was provoked by a Messenian attack on Spartan girls who were celebrating a festival at the border sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis. The episode is redoubled in another abduction of Spartan girls by the Messenians at the temple of Artemis Karyatis (Pausanias 4.16.9-10). Similarly, Helen was abducted by Theseus during a rite at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Plutarch, *Theseus* 31.2 – cf. also Appendix A). Herodotus (6.137-140) narrates that Pelasgians from Lemnos abducted some Athenian women from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron. Cf. also Larson 1995, 65; Guettel Cole 1998, 27-29.

¹⁴⁷ For instance, Barringer 1995, 92 suggests that the inclusion of the escaping Nereids during Thetis’ abduction was an artistic innovation (possibly in the fifth century BC), influenced by Dionysiac maenads, according to a thematic similarity between dancing and sexual aggression. Similar abductions and wedding themes could have also influenced the appearance of the Leucippides’ companions.

¹⁴⁸ Athenian women, especially from noble families, had scarce opportunities to leave the house. Religious festivals and in general religious rites were the main occasions for a woman to be seen outside the family *oikos*. E.g. Keuls 1985, 302: “Religious events, along with funerals, furnished them [i.e. women] with the only opportunity to participate in the public life of the community”. Cf. also section 1.2.1.

partake in the same human rituals; although Thetis and Persephone are often abducted from amidst their companions, who might form a “chorus” in a broad sense, they are not connected to sanctuaries and rituals.¹⁴⁹

This short introduction was necessary to set the stage for the following analysis. In order to discuss the details of the cultic and collective nature of the abduction’s background, we shall rely now on the best known and at the same time the most complex vase in our catalogue (fig. 12), the relevance of which has been anticipated in more than one instance in the previous sections. It is a hydria, renowned for the richness and quality of its decoration, but also for being one of few signed vessels (450-400 B.C.); the potter is called Meidias, and the painter whose hand is recognisable in this and other vases is known as the Meidias Painter.¹⁵⁰

The decoration unfolds on two levels; the scene of the abduction, on the upper level, is dense and chaotic,¹⁵¹ but all the characters involved are easy to recognise, as they are identified by their names. Two abductions, as expected, take place at the same time; Polydeukes races his chariot away, taking a girl named Elera (*scil.* Hilaeira) away,¹⁵² while Castor seizes Eriphyle from behind and lifts her in his arms.¹⁵³ Curiously, literary sources are quite firm in assigning Hilaeira as the wife of Castor and Phoibe (in this case Eriphyle) as the wife of Polydeukes;¹⁵⁴ artistic depictions can follow the same scheme when the characters are named (e.g. fig. 1), but this is not the case. Consequently, it seems that the names of the two Leucippides are not a distinctive feature of the abduction scene in Athens, nor is the composition of the resulting couples.

Between the two chariots (Polydeukes’ and Castor’s chariot, which is manned by his charioteer, Chrysippus), we recognise a *xoanon* of Aphrodite, but the goddess is also present in person, seated by an altar in the lower part of the scene.¹⁵⁵ The

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁵⁰ Burn 1987.

¹⁵¹ Although the chaos is actually quite “controlled and stagy” (Boardman 1979, 146).

¹⁵² Camponetti 2007, 25 suggests that the variant “Elera” should be intended as a word play on the aorist of αἰρέω, meaning “she who is taken”.

¹⁵³ On the replacement of Phoibe with Eriphyle, cf. section 4.3. For a punctual description of dresses and hairstyles, cf. Nicole 1907, 105-112.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. section 1.1.

¹⁵⁵ The word *xoanon* is of Greek origin and comes from the verb ξέω, “to smooth or polish by scraping and filing”; it typically specifies the activity of a carpenter, and it is mainly applied to wood. The word is already used by ancient authors; in Pausanias, it occurs often to describe wooden statues, which in

xoanon, the altar and Aphrodite herself make the location of the episode clear: a sanctuary, dedicated to Aphrodite. The cult of Artemis was most commonly connected to young girls and their passage to adulthood, but Aphrodite is not out of context either. Although not directly connected to the episode, she has a strong influence in the spheres of desire, marriage, and fertility. Obviously, desire is the driving force behind any abduction; as already discussed, abductions and weddings share many common features in their artistic representations, and sometimes mythological abductions are the premises for mythological weddings.¹⁵⁶ Finally, the realms of Artemis and Aphrodite overlap in the field of abductions; the hunt is, in fact, a male rite of passage, but it is also a metaphor for the erotic pursuit, and marriage is its female counterpart.¹⁵⁷

As anticipated, the sanctuary is suggested by the appearance of some of its typical elements, such as a *xoanon* or an altar, but also by the other girls; in this case, we find three other female characters completing the scene. One seems to be still unaware of what is happening around her and crouches on the ground, possibly picking flowers;¹⁵⁸ the other two flee the scene in a panicky rush.¹⁵⁹ The crouching girl and one of the fleeing girls are named Chryseis and Agave; mythological traditions know of three Chryseises – the famous daughter of Chryses, priest of Apollo, from the *Iliad*, an Oceanid and a lover of Herakles – and four Agaves – Pentheus’ mother, a Nereid, a Danaid and an Amazon. However, none of these characters seems to fit the scene. Probably, they are human companions of the Leucippides with generic names; the

most cases are qualified as “ancient”. While antiquity is not necessarily implied in the original meaning of the word, the “primitive” technique itself, which often results in pillar-like or trunk-like statues, is enough to give the *xoana* an aura of antiquity. Cf. Jourdain-Annequin 1998, 245-249; Pirenne-Delforge 2004, 813. Vernant 1991b, 208 notes that *xoana* often represent Artemis and emphasise her most alien and “strange” nature.

¹⁵⁶ The Athenian Leucippides, as already mentioned, but also Persephone, for instance.

¹⁵⁷ Vernant 1991a, 198-201; Barringer 2001, 160-162. We shall return on the topic in the next section. Nicole 1907 and Burn 1987 also suggest that Aphrodite is the most commonly depicted goddess in the works of the Meidias Painter, even when she has no direct connection to the scene depicted. This is actually a common trend in Attic vases in the last two decades of the fifth century, of which the Meidias Painter is the most renowned representative.

¹⁵⁸ In fig. 10, a girl holds in her hand a floral decoration. This is a common mannerism of the period, but a flower could also find its place in an abduction scene, since abducted girls (e.g. Persephone) and their companions are often picking flowers when the abductor interrupts them.

¹⁵⁹ Scattering girls can be found also in fig. 3 (pp. 206-208), 4 (p. 75), 5 (pp. 186-187), 6 (pp. 187-188), 9 (p. 192), 10 (p. 187). Also fig. 8 can be, probably, grouped with these depictions. The scene depicted in these small fragments is not easy to identify, but two chariots and, at least, three females either running or dancing can be clearly recognised. Other elements include a draped figure, slightly bending forward, possibly the old father of the girls, and an imposing female with a crown, possibly a goddess.

literal meanings of their names, in fact, are “Golden” and “Noble”, appropriate names for well-born girls, but also appropriate personifications of traits appreciated in a marriageable girl.¹⁶⁰ Peitho, the other running girl, stands on a completely different ground; “Persuasion” is notoriously one of the lower divinities of Aphrodite’s following.¹⁶¹ Typically, erotic persuasion is a feature of marriage – interestingly enough, here she flees the scene of an abduction. Nonetheless, her presence, together with Aphrodite, suggests the idea of love and marriage.¹⁶²

Generally, the scattering companions do not bear names; however, some of them can bear some distinctive marks.¹⁶³ For instance, in fig. 4, two of them are distinguished by their rich dresses, so Tillyard suggests that one could be Phylodice, the mother of the Leucippides, and the other Arsinoe, their sister.¹⁶⁴ The same goes for fig. 6, in which Arias suggests that we identify the female figure in front of the chariot, whose dress distinguishes her from the abducted girls and the other scattering girls, as Phylodice.¹⁶⁵ While the girls’ mother (an adult, married woman) would be out of place in a maidens’ ritual, her presence is to be expected in a wedding procession.¹⁶⁶ The abducted girls’ companions mainly reflect the sanctuary background but also recall the crying relatives who bid goodbye to the departing newlyweds in wedding processions, too. If, among them, we also identify the mother of the girls, this connection is reinforced. On the other hand, it is possible that the Leucippides’ younger sister would

¹⁶⁰ Burn 1987, 32-33 lists the typical attendants of Aphrodite: lower goddesses such as Peitho, personifications of aspects of festivals and happiness, and finally women who are not proper personifications, but whose names suggest the same pleasurable aspects of life. Our two girls can be ascribed to this last category.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Burn 1987, 37. However, she was also a symbol of Athenian democracy (39). Cf. also Pirenne-Delforge 1991, 399-403; Shapiro 1993, 186-207; Redfield 2003, 66-72.

¹⁶² Shapiro 1993, 206 suggests that she “does not condone violence”.

¹⁶³ Naturally, such distinctions exist only insofar as the companions could have individual identities; for instance, there would have been no reason to differentiate between Nereids, who had a (mostly) collective identity (cf. Appendix A).

¹⁶⁴ Tillyard 1923, 66. On Phylodice’s identity, cf. section 1.1. On fig. 4, cf. p. 75. Similarly, *Vereniging van Vrieden van het Allard Pierson Museum* 1983, 16-18 identifies one of the girls in fig. 10 as Arsinoe too (on fig. 10, cf. p. 187); her younger age would be implied by her diminutive size. In a composition in which all the characters occupy exactly the same space, delimited by two bands, this character seems shorter (her feet not properly touching the ground, her head not reaching the upper band) and smaller (in particular her feet, compared to the closer Leucippid). On the identification of adolescent girls, cf. also Ferrari 2002, 177-178.

¹⁶⁵ Arias 1958, 7. The different dress would be the only difference between her and the other companions, as “Greek art did not differentiate between young and more mature women” (Cohen 2007, 261).

¹⁶⁶ The mother of the bride took part in the wedding procession and is usually depicted among the torchbearers. Cf. Redfield 1982, 189; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 26; Rehm 1994, 14.

take part in their same rituals, but what remains unclear is whether at this stage of the myth's development she would have already been connected to them and in which way. According to Pausanias 2.26.7, the birth of Asclepius from Arsinoe, daughter of Messenian Leucippus, was invented by Hesiod or an interpolator; traditions concerning her existence seem to be old, but she does not appear in other sources, and she is exclusively connected to Asclepius, not to the story of her sisters and father.¹⁶⁷ Finally, back to fig. 12, a majestic male figure sits in the lower part of the scene. Gone is the desperate, powerless father of the abducted girls, Leucippus; in his stead, we find the complacent father of the abducting heroes, Zeus.¹⁶⁸

The abduction scene that takes place in a sanctuary usually depicts the chaos following the abrupt arrival of the abductors, as in this case; however, it is occasionally possible to reconstruct also the previous activities of the girls. In fig. 12, Chryseis was, probably, picking flowers; in other cases, the girls were partaking in a ritual dance. For instance, this seems a reasonable explanation for the scene depicted on six small fragments of a volute krater (fig. 2).¹⁶⁹ In this case, two female figures, holding hands, move towards a youth, who is hidden in a crouching position by a palm tree.¹⁷⁰ Possibly, the two girls are the two Leucippides, running together away from one pursuing Dioscurus and falling right into the clutches of the other, hidden one.¹⁷¹ However, the position of their bodies seems also to suggest a dance.¹⁷² The hair held back in an elaborate coif, the long, multi-layered vest, and the earrings all point in the direction of a formal context, such as a ritual in a sanctuary. The palm tree by which the youth crouches in fig. 2 suggests a sanctuary too; in fact, Sourvinou-Inwood has

¹⁶⁷ The earliest source preserved that attests her story is Apollodorus 3.10.3.

¹⁶⁸ Burn 1987, 17. Similarly, Zeus' eagle appeared in the Chalcidian fragment at fig. 1 (pp. 114-117). Zeus, as complacent father of the abducted girl and accomplice to his brother the abductor, is also a typical feature of the abduction of Persephone. His approval is clearly connected to the wedding theme of the scene, as the approval of the bride's father was an essential precondition of weddings but certainly not of abductions. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. also Kuhnert 1888. The fragmentary status of the vase and the absence of written names make the identification of the episode uncertain, but the presence of two girls, of a chariot, of a palm tree and of a statue (as we shall discuss in a moment) hint at this specific abduction.

¹⁷⁰ Similarly, cf. the Nereids dancing in a sanctuary (Barringer 1995, 83-89).

¹⁷¹ Glancing behind is a *topos* of the pursued character; however, Lefkowitz 1993, 22 also suggests that – whenever the pursuer is a god – the fact that the running woman is turning back towards the god implies that she is drawn to his persuasive glance. Topper 2007, 84 admits that the meaning of the backward glance of the pursued female is still debated, but nonetheless recognises it as a standard feature of the abduction itself.

¹⁷² For a parallel, cf. fig. 19 (section 3.1.3).

recognised the regular presence of palm trees in depictions of sanctuaries of Artemis, in which rituals for young women take place.¹⁷³ In other cases, the girls do not dance, but their cultic activity is still clear; for instance, in fig. 5, one of the unnamed companions holds a *phiale* in her hand, a typically ritual object.¹⁷⁴

As far as we can reconstruct from literary and iconographic sources, the sanctuary is not a necessary element of the abduction of the Leucippides, which happens in most cases in a generic, unspecified location.¹⁷⁵ However, its regular presence in Athenian depictions makes it extremely relevant to the identification and interpretation of the scene. From our point of view, the most notable feature of a sanctuary is the presence of a group of girls inside it. The abducted girls are no longer isolated but belong to a community of peers that makes up the background of the abduction and gives it an extra layer of depth from an emotional point of view, but also from a social point of view. As expected of well-born girls in fifth-century Athens, the Leucippides take part in the rites of passage from maidenhood to (married) adulthood that take place in liminal sanctuaries and are reserved for groups of girls of their age. As established in the previous sections, abduction and wedding are only two sides of the same coin or two different ways of representing the same phenomenon; those rites prepare the young women for marriage and are ended by the abduction, which symbolically anticipates (or even replaces) the wedding itself. Therefore, the wedding parallels and the cultic background of the abduction in Athens are hardly separable phenomena, as one depends on the other, and they both express the same set of social values. That said, it should not be forgotten that the abduction of the Leucippides is only one of the abductions that manifest those peculiarities in fifth-century Athenian vase paintings; nevertheless, in the specific case of the Leucippides, the iconographic connection with initiations and weddings is directly reflected in their Athenian identity as brides and mothers, as appeared in the decoration of the Athenian

¹⁷³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 144-146 and 1991, 70-77, 99-143. While this connection has been made particularly clear for the Classical age, we should mention that Langdon argues for this pattern also in the Late Geometric period (2006, 210). Cf. another palm tree in fig. 3. In fig. 12, Nicole 1907, 60 reads a sacred wood in the modest presence of vegetation. In her opinion, the Leucippides and their companions would have been picking flowers in the woods when the abduction happened.

¹⁷⁴ On fig. 5, cf. pp. 186-187.

¹⁷⁵ As Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 78-79 notices, painters are allowed to create their own versions of the myth and in particular to fill in any details that were not otherwise specified, such as the location of the abduction.

Anakeion of the Dioscuri. This suggests that the iconography of the Leucippides might have not passively adapted to a wider phenomenon that caused an overlapping of wedding and abduction scenes, but actively influenced it or, at least, adopted it by following an internal logic, coherent with their myth and the local cult of the Dioscuri.

4.6. The other side of the coin: the heroic quest of male maturation

What we have seen so far has been focused on the female side of the story. The Leucippides are the protagonists of their abduction and the subject of our discussion, and we have ascertained how this episode was depicted, read and interpreted with a female audience in mind and to regulate the male-led society's expectations concerning the female half of society. This element is relevant on its own, but it developed in parallel with another. This same episode, in fact, can also be read as a way to express and regulate social expectations concerning the *male* population. If the abduction represents the subjugation of the female and the acceptance of the male domination as realised by the wedding, then neither abduction nor wedding can exist without men. The male presence requires a message to its male users. Therefore, every scene considered so far conveys a set of values and models that are meant to be also received by a male audience and are evident by shifting the focus from the abducted to the abductor. Those values are particularly clear in some selected scenes in which the focus is not on the girl or the wedding, but on the hero.

As discussed in the previous sections, the abduction represents the endpoint of a process of initiation for girls that prepares them for the wedding as the moment of transition into adulthood. A female enters adulthood through marriage; a male, instead, is considered an adult when he becomes a hoplite.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the abduction has an "initiator" meaning for males, too. Greek males married later than females (around thirty) and, by then, were considered adult warriors and citizens. However, the period that preceded marriage seems also to belong to a pre-adulthood status, which is particularly evident in art. The actors of abductions (both mythological and generic)

¹⁷⁶ On the parallel between marriage for females and warfare for males, cf. Vernant 1974 (1990), 34.

are always depicted as young men, i.e. as ephebes, recognisable by a series of conventional traits: the absence of beard, no armour, possibly even nude bodies, lack of weapons except for spears.¹⁷⁷ Spears, in fact, are typical elements of the ephebe's attire, since he is not a hoplite yet, but his role in combat is more that of a light-armoured guard or skirmisher.¹⁷⁸ Therefore, we recognise a specific split between historical reality and artistic depiction. In the former, the male approaching his wedding is a full-fledged adult; in the latter, he still belongs to an initiatory, pre-adulthood phase of his life, in which training for war, hunts and sex pursuits supplement each other.¹⁷⁹

Formally speaking, the ephebeia was a period of transition to adulthood, "a period of training and preparation for adult responsibilities".¹⁸⁰ Thanks to Lycurgus' reforms programme in Athens (c. 335/334 BC), it became a state-organised institution, which lasted two years, from the age of 18 to 20, and prepared to the attainment of full citizenship rights; in particular, boys trained by taking up garrison duties at the borders of the polis, an activity that leads us back to the spears and light armour mentioned above. This institution was probably the heir of older rites of passage but preserved no clear traces of them anymore.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, it seems possible, and even likely, that informal military training for youths existed in Athens at least from the fifth century.¹⁸² It was probably connected to the phratries and was meant to introduce boys to their role as full members of the community; this preparatory period covered the years between 16 and 18.¹⁸³ A connection between this first ephebeia and hunting activities has been suggested, as both involved marginal areas and deceit, such as snares.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Barringer 2001, 153-154. In Athens, Theseus is depicted as the ephebe *par excellence*. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. Vidal-Naquet 1968, 148, 162 and 1986, 130.

¹⁷⁹ This divide is reflected even more clearly in the iconographic representations of Theseus' abduction of Helen; Theseus, who traditionally was already 50 years old, is restored to his youth and depicted according to the same features that characterised him in his ephebic abductions. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁸⁰ Cole 1984, 235. On the history of the *ephebeia*, cf. Pélékidis 1962.

¹⁸¹ Vidal-Naquet 1986, 133.

¹⁸² Pélékidis 1962, 79; Reinmuth 1971, 136-138.

¹⁸³ Reinmuth 1952; Vidal-Naquet 1968, 1974, 174-177 and 1986, 133; Casey 2013.

¹⁸⁴ Vidal-Naquet 1968, 158-160 and 1986, 133. On the contrary, Pélékidis 1962, 24 suggests that the connection between ephebes and the hunt belonged to "feudal" societies led by aristocratic horsemen and was not relevant to democratic Athens; yet the artistic depictions of ephebes in the same democratic Athens often show an ideological assimilation between ephebe and hunter (cf. also Barringer 2001). Even though Athenian society was not formally led by aristocratic horsemen anymore, they still existed and held power and money, and their ideology and values still influenced society at large.

Similar forms of initiation/training are attested for other cities (e.g. the Spartan youths hunting helots and the Cretan ones hunting in the wild with their adult lovers).

As abductions are performed by ephebes, and spears belong to the typical attire of ephebes, spears are also a typical feature of abduction scenes in general. However, their presence depends on the attire of the ephebes, not on the scene itself. In other words, they are generic attributes of the ephebe that make him immediately recognisable, and not proper weapons. In fact, these spears are never held in an attacking position, but they only hint at the violence of the action taking place; they are menacing, but certainly not used to attack the girl.¹⁸⁵ These “not-attacking” positions could be on the ground, in the left hand, with the spearhead turned away from the girl and the direction of movement, vertically, or inclined towards the ground.¹⁸⁶

As discussed in the previous chapters, the “mature” Dioscuri are exclusive to Sparta, while their prevalent depiction in the rest of the Greek world is that of ephebes, thus making them particularly appropriate protagonists of this type of scene. It should be mentioned that spears are also characteristic of horsemen, another category that fits the Dioscuri especially well.¹⁸⁷ However, spears never appear in abduction scenes featuring chariots but are typical only of abductions on foot.¹⁸⁸ As previously discussed, the (double) abduction with chariots is the most typical embodiment of the abduction of the Leucippides, which should make us suspect that spears, and more generally the ephebic elements of the abductors, do not belong to the Dioscuri scene *per se*, but are influenced by a set of typical features of abductions in general.

Nevertheless, a clear case of ephebic abduction of the Leucippides (with spears) is depicted on a hydria from Spina, of Athenian fabric (fig. 11).¹⁸⁹ On one side, we see

¹⁸⁵ Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 131; Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 32-41. Similarly, cf. Theseus in Appendix A.

¹⁸⁶ A contrary position was supported by Keuls 1985, 34 and 50, who interprets the weapons of the pursuing characters as “meaningfully aimed at the crotch level of the victim”; however, this hypothesis appears weaker, as the “aim at the crotch level” only appears in a limited selection of cases and is not a general rule.

¹⁸⁷ For instance, we find an example of uncertain identification on amphora that depicts a young horseman pursuing a running girl (fig. 7). While the traits of the youth are compatible with the usual depictions of the Dioscuri (horse, beardless face, long curly hair, petasos hanging on their back, himation draped around their body, double spears) and in general of the heroic abductor, the running girl shows no distinctive traits, and the fact that there is just one couple depicted speaks against the identification of the episode as the abduction of the Leucippides. In addition, the spears held by the youth are in an unexpectedly menacing position; their tips point straight to the chest of the girl.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. fig. 5 (pp. 186-187), 9 (p. 192), 10 (p. 187), 11 (pp. 221-222).

¹⁸⁹ It should be noted that Spina is an Etruscan necropolis near Ferrara (Italy).

two youths, similar in their appearance and stance, each pursuing a girl and running in the same direction. No other characters are included in the scene, which is isolated from the rest of the decoration by a frame on both sides. The youths (*sc.* the Dioscuri) hold one single spear each and have a sword under their left armpits. This example is also useful to point out another peculiarity of the “male point of view” in the scene. The Leucippides are only differentiated by their hairstyles, as one girl has her hair held up by a diadem, while the other’s hair is let down, and a Dioscurus seizes her by it. Possibly, she was wearing her hair up like her sister, but the violent grabbing action of her abductor set it free.¹⁹⁰ Grabbing and pulling one of the girls by the hair is the first sign of a more physical and violent dimension of the abduction.¹⁹¹ This abduction is as far as possible from a wedding scene; the girls’ consent is not even implicitly suggested but openly disregarded. This is not just an abduction; it is a *hunt*. Interestingly, an animal frieze, with alternating lions and boars facing each other, runs around the lip of the vase. Animal hunting scenes are quite commonly connected to women “hunting” scenes such as this one.¹⁹² In myth, sex, violence and hunt are inherently intertwined, and one can metaphorically suggest the other.¹⁹³ Hunt and sex are typical activities and interests of the young, aristocratic male on the verge of adulthood. Hunting is at the same time a heroic deed (*cf.* the Calydonian boar hunt) and a rite of passage for ephebes (*e.g.* Odysseus), as the young men prove they have reached maturity through an ennobling activity that, at the same time, likens them to the heroes of old and marks the liminal stage in which they find themselves: not children anymore, but not proper adults, *i.e.* hoplites, yet.¹⁹⁴ On the other hand, the sexual pursuit implies in its own way a form of hunt,¹⁹⁵ which takes form in the choice

¹⁹⁰ As discussed in a previous section, the two Leucippides can have different features, so that different coiffures would not be impossible; it should also be noted that different coiffures can characterise different ages.

¹⁹¹ It should be noted that this action is extremely uncommon in Greek vase painting, which makes our vase all the more interesting.

¹⁹² *Cf.* *e.g.* Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 66.

¹⁹³ “The myths of the heroic rapist, the heroic hunter, and the heroic warrior were all fundamentally related” (Cohen 1996, 12. However, this position is partially retreated in 2010, 146-161, in which Cohen suggests that the hunting metaphor is relevant in literature but much weaker in iconography). More specifically, “the hunt supplies a metaphor for eroticism or amorous pursuit, and the two realms – hunting and sex – are also joined in real chronological life passages” (Barringer 2001, 126).

¹⁹⁴ *Cf.* Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 137-138; the erotic pursuit is an ephebic test as much as the capture of a wild animal.

¹⁹⁵ Barringer 2001, 127, 170.

of the prey, the action of stalking it (e.g. the crouching, hidden youth of fig. 2) and the sudden assault. On the same topic, we should also point out that young girls were traditionally regarded as wild animals, to be tamed by marriage and male-controlled sexual activity;¹⁹⁶ consequently, “hunting” such “wild animals” is a perfectly coherent metaphor.¹⁹⁷ Thus, the hunter hunts his human prey to tame her through marriage.¹⁹⁸ In other words, the hunt is a rite of passage for the male as the wedding is for the female;¹⁹⁹ when the female is “sexually hunted” by the male, the two rites become symbolically one.

To conclude, the depictions of the abduction of the Leucippides belong to a wider context of abduction scenes; most of these scenes share some key features, such as their value as “social models” for girls, which is expressed through their wedding parallels and the background posed by female rites of passage. However, both weddings and abductions require also a male element, and it is not possible to isolate them from it. Therefore, those same abduction scenes can also be read from a male point of view and transmit a specific message to their male audience. The abduction is an activity for ephebes, i.e. young men on the verge of adulthood, and it shares some traits with another ephebic pursuit, the hunt, to the point that the latter becomes a metaphor for the former. Consequently, the ephebe finds in the abductor an ideal model with whom he can identify. His pursuit of a worthy wife becomes a heroic quest that likens him to the heroic abductors-hunters of myth while, at the same time, the heroes of old themselves take on the attire of the fifth-century ephebe and his activities, such as hunt and sex.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Goff 2004, 81-82.

¹⁹⁷ E.g. Barringer 2001, 170. This metaphor is taken one step further by Peleus’ abduction of Thetis; the goddess, in fact, takes on animal forms to escape her captor, which are usually depicted around her in Athenian pottery. Thus, the metaphorical hunt becomes an actual hunt. Cf. Appendix A.

¹⁹⁸ Stewart 1995, 79 states that the abductor’s lack of an erection, his characterisation as a hunter and Eros’ absence all suggest that the man’s “aim is not sex per se but the girl’s capture and acculturation”.

¹⁹⁹ Barringer 2001, 160-161.

Conclusion

This thesis posed a series of questions concerning the Greek myth of the Leucippides. Their story, a secondary episode in the myth of the Dioscuri, is hardly known to modern scholarship; the purpose of this work was to fill this gap by collecting, connecting and interpreting all sources available, in order to challenge long-standing assumptions and to show the spread, relevance and meaning of the myth of the Leucippides. With these aims in mind, I pursued an interdisciplinary approach capable of considering literary, visual and epigraphic evidence in the light of philological, iconographic, historical, socio-cultural and comparative interpretation.

The first research question enquired into the nature of the mythological episode and the identification of its core elements. My analysis demonstrated the antiquity of the Leucippides as characters and the stability in time and space of the fundamental traits of their story. These elements were identified as: the absolute centrality of the episode describing the abduction by the Dioscuri; the strong connection between abduction and wedding, as the abduction of the Leucippides is never characterised as a rape for its own sake but as the necessary premise to marriage and, possibly, the birth of legitimate children; its connotations as an exemplary coming-of-age myth, particularly for girls, but with implications also for young males. The duel between the Dioscuri and the Apharetidae, which originated as a separate episode, was connected to the abduction of the Leucippides no earlier than the fourth century BC.

Secondly, we examined the existence and function of the Leucippides in Sparta, against their specific cultic, cultural and political backdrop. This examination suggests that the political value of this story has been largely understated; the abduction of the Leucippides is attested on both sides of the turbulent border between Laconia and Messenia and, in both regions, is connected to the power dynamics between the two populations. From a social point of view, the abduction myth was probably considered to be the mythological model of the wedding by abduction, but marriage and childbirth do not seem to be a focal point of the Spartan myth, which is instead centred around the theme of female maturation and passage to adulthood. This fact is reflected in the local cult of the Leucippides; its fundamental dimension as a cult of *parthenoi* is

already widely acknowledged, but this study has also brought forward its connection to both Apollo (and, possibly, his festival of the Hyacinthia) and Dionysus. The Leucippides and their priestesses might have acted as a point of contact between the two cults. Another meaningful result of this study has been to recognise the uniqueness of the Spartan identity of the Leucippides as the only case in which the two girls are subject of a cult, and their connection to the Dioscuri is not strictly necessary; it is clear, in fact, that the Dioscuri had no place in the cult of the Leucippides.

A subsequent concern of this work is the identification of the geographical contexts and timeframe in which the myth spread to the rest of the Greek world and how it was received, used and transmitted in different contexts. From a survey of the sources, it is evident that the myth spread fast and at an early date. However, having lost its political and cultic connotations, the story of the Leucippides was reduced exclusively to their abduction by the Dioscuri. From the sixth century BC onwards, the story is known in the colonies of Magna Graecia and, possibly, in the Greek east (Siphnos); its expansion seems to follow the diffusion of Peloponnesian settlers and traders. The circumstances are different in Argos, where the development of the myth of the Leucippides appears to follow an independent and parallel route. In this context, an exceptional relevance is attributed to the wedding to the Dioscuri and the birth of their children, differently from the Spartan model. A similar evolution can be recognised in Athens, too, which suggests a closer connection to the Argive model, rather than the Spartan one, at least at the time of its appearance in Athens (probably during the tyranny of Peisistratus). While the picture emerging from these other contexts is too fragmentary to allow for anything more than tentative hypotheses, the situation in Athens is clearer. The abduction of the Leucippides reflects two complementary themes: the abduction as completion of the rites of passage to adulthood for girls and the abduction as a symbol of the wedding. The value of the story, therefore, can be recognised in its relevance to society and ability to transmit social models.

This point leads us to the last question posed by this work. How did the myth of the Leucippides relate to society? Particularly in the Athenian context, the myth was set up as a relevant model of social behaviour for females. The abduction of the Leucippides, in fact, takes place in a sanctuary and brings to an end (and, therefore,

completes) the girls' ritual passage to adulthood. Athenian girls, too, were expected to take part in ritual activities to mark their entrance into adulthood; a wedding would ensue at their completion, and, like the Leucippides, the young women would need to leave the group of their peers and their family behind and accept their new condition as brides. The ritualised, "civilised" violence of the wedding, characterised by male decision and imposition and by the separation from what was previously familiar to the girl, is well represented by the violence of the abduction; at the same time, the depictions of the abduction were tamed and "legitimised" by the parallel with wedding depictions. The abduction of the Leucippides stands out as an ideal case study for this process.

The relevance of such a study has been described in detail in the introduction. Nonetheless, in light of the results described above, it should be clear that the analysis of this myth, allegedly a minor story, has an impact on various fields of Classical research. First, it completes the picture of the Dioscuri in several geographical contexts; the Divine Twins, in fact, have often been studied, but the scarce relevance attributed to this specific episode of their life and to its implications from the religious and cultural points of view left much to be explored. Secondly, this work suggested further evidence to track the web of Archaic relationships and reciprocal influences between cities. It also places itself among the studies on the reception of mythological models in Greek society, in particular in the field of gender studies. Finally, it supports the productiveness of a holistic approach to the sources.

As a result of my study, further research might well be conducted on other aspects of the Leucippides such as their relationship with similar myths of abduction, with Helen and her cult and with the Indo-European mythological system surrounding the Divine Twins. Future studies on abduction myths and marriage will certainly benefit from this work, too. More generally, a desirable outcome would be a renewed interest in minor characters, since this study offered an example of the many possibilities still unexplored.

Appendix A - Abduction as Marriage: Parallel Stories

A.1. Introduction

In this appendix, we shall briefly discuss a selected number of myths that share some fundamental traits with the Athenian abduction of the Leucippides. For obvious reasons, a complete overview is not possible, as the number of examples would be overwhelming. Nevertheless, these limited examples will be useful to produce a clearer picture of the mythological context in which our myth was received and the traits discussed above developed.

Two main criteria led the choice of the instances here considered: first, the myths shall deal specifically with abductions proper, not rapes (or general erotic pursuits). In fact, a certain amount of ambiguity remains in modern scholarship, which is inclined to use the terms as synonyms, following the general lack of interest in Greek sources in distinguishing between the two actions. While abductions are often acted out with the precise goal of sexual satisfaction, not all mythological sexual pursuits imply an abduction. As seen in all examples in the previous chapters, the abduction of the Leucippides is not simply sexual violence, but a proper “abduction”, in which one character is taken forcibly from one location to another, through an act that marks the irreversible separation from their previous life. This usually happens because the abductor intends to marry the abducted. Therefore, we can summarise the abduction as the action of an unmarried male who takes an unmarried female away from her familiar context with the explicit intent of marrying her. Therefore, we shall exclude from the category of abduction here considered most of the sexual pursuits enacted by gods, which reach their completion in the sexual act itself. These stories generally see a woman (sometimes unmarried, but often married to a mortal) catching a god’s fancy; the god uses his powers to create the occasion to seduce the woman (usually in her home or, more generally, in a familiar context such as a nearby river) and leaves after his “seduction”. The woman is not taken away from her family; it will be up to her father or husband to deal with the offspring born from this union. As is immediately clear, those cases do not fit our requirements.

Secondly, our cases need not share other collateral peculiarities with the abduction of the Leucippides. For instance, it is significant to point out that, as far as

I am aware, Greek myth does not know of any other multiple abductions, i.e. abductions that involve at the same time more than one abductor and more than one abducted. Interestingly, this is despite the abundance of pairs of friends, and in particular, of twin brothers. In fact, the fascination of Greek mythology for twins is a known fact, although not studied as deeply as would be required.¹ However, only the Dioscuri are connected to an abduction myth as identified above; most of the other twins have wives, but their weddings seem either to have followed the more “conventional” route of family-approved engagements or to be left unexplained.²

The previous analysis of the abduction of the Leucippides has identified three main topics: the female initiation, the male initiation, and the wedding parallel.³ Therefore, I have selected three myths that meet the requirements more closely; each manifests all the traits considered but, to avoid unnecessary repetition, each myth has been connected with one single trait that appeared to be the most relevant. We shall discuss the story of each abduction, how it was depicted and its social value and, finally, the differences from and resemblances to the myth of the Leucippides. The result will be to highlight, on the one hand, the reciprocal influences that occur between similar myths in the same cultural context and, on the other, the peculiarities of the Leucippides’ story.

¹ E.g. Mencacci 1996 and Sforza 2007.

² Cf. Amphion and Zethus or the Molione. The Aloadae should be attributed to a different category; the giant twins attempted a double abduction (two of them, two chosen victims), but failed. Their deed was condemned by its own *hybris*, as they climbed Mount Olympus and pursued two goddesses, Hera and Artemis. However, the structure itself of this attempted abduction would have deemed it unsuitable for our discussion, as certainly they had no intention of marrying their divine preys; on the other hand, Hera was already married.

³ Cf. sections 4.4-4.6.

A.2. *Theseus: the ephebe*

Theseus, as the Athenian hero par excellence, is a recurring presence in Athenian myths and, in particular, in vase paintings.⁴ Theseus' mythological story is long and complicated and covers his whole life, from his birth and childhood in his mother's land (Troezen) to his death as king of Athens, a mature man and the father of adult sons. However, the Athenian painters were particularly fond of a specific period of Theseus' life, his youth.⁵ In fact, despite his longevity and the equally famous episodes concerning his adult life, Theseus was perceived and depicted first and foremost as the ephebe par excellence in Classical Athens:⁶ a male youth on the brink of adulthood, who still needs to prove his readiness to enter society as a full-fledged citizen.⁷ Consequently, the scenes depicting Theseus' early adventures (such as the Cretan expedition and the fight against the Minotaur) were supplemented by several scenes depicting Theseus the ephebe participating in typical ephebic activities; as discussed previously, erotic pursuits ranked first among those activities.⁸

However, despite his identity as the ideal ephebe and the close connection between ephebe-type characters and abductions, young Theseus is not primarily connected to abduction myths. The main episodes of Theseus' youth are his adventures on the way to Athens, his arrival at Athens and Aegeus' recognition and, finally, the Cretan expedition, but none of these episodes involves an abduction.⁹ Even Ariadne left with Theseus willingly, according to all sources.¹⁰ From a quick survey of Athenian vases, it seems clear that this episode was never depicted as an abduction, if at all;¹¹ Ariadne, in fact, often appears before, during and after Theseus'

⁴ On the importance of Theseus in Athens and the introduction of his cult, cf. Shapiro 1989.

⁵ A complete overview of the Athenian depictions of the episodes of Theseus' youth can be found in Neils 1987.

⁶ This process of identification of Theseus as an ephebe begins in early Attic black-figure vases; earlier depictions show him as a bearded (i.e. adult) hero. Cf. Neils 1987, 20-24.

⁷ This is related certainly to the initiatory value of the Minotaur episode; however, it does not seem possible (at least in this context) to discern whether the identification of Theseus as ephebe caused the popularity of his main ephebic quest or the popularity of this ephebic episode caused Theseus' standard depiction as an ephebe. On the topic, e.g. Calame 1996a, 187-192, 432-435.

⁸ Cf. section 4.6.

⁹ On Theseus' youth, cf. also Brommer 1982, 14-34; Calame 1996a, 69-97; Servadei 2005, 21-83. On the Cretan expedition, cf. also Brommer 1982, 35-92; Calame 1996a, 98-121; Servadei 2005, 84-133.

¹⁰ E.g. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 19.1; Diodorus Siculus, 4.61.4-5; in particular, Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 1.8.

¹¹ Cf. *LIMC*, s.v. Ariadne, 1-109. The only relevant exception might be found on a famous Athenian Geometric krater (British Museum, GR 1899.2-19.1), which depicts a man leading a woman ἐπὶ καραπῷ on a ship, possibly Theseus leaving Crete with Ariadne, but the identification is extremely controversial. Cf. Neils 1987, 18-19; Langdon 1998, 266-267. According to Snodgrass 1998, 33-35,

fight with the Minotaur, but never in a way that might suggest an abduction. The abduction motif is not present in Theseus' Cretan adventure.

Both Plutarch (*Theseus* 29) and Athenaeus (13.557, following Istros, *FGrH* 34 F 10) present a list of women seduced by Theseus: Helen, Ariadne, Hippolyta/Antiope, Cercyon's daughter, Sinis' daughter and Anaxo. In a separate list, Athenaeus mentions Theseus' wives: Meliboia, Hippolyta, Phaidra, Hippa and Aegle (from Hesiod fr. 147 298) and Phereboia (from Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3 F 153).¹² However, it is clear that the list of abducted girls depends on the very generic use of the word ἀρπαγή that is common in Greek sources; Ariadne, for instance, is "abducted" inasmuch as she is taken away by a man without her family's approval, but she goes willingly (like Medea who, in fact, is the driving force behind her own "abduction" by Jason, not its victim) and Theseus' intention to marry her is feeble at its best.¹³ On the other hand, we should speak of rapes in the cases of Cercyon's daughter, Sinis' daughter and Anaxo; there is no spatial movement involved in the episodes, and Theseus is not pursuing a potential wife. Therefore, none of these stories fits in our scheme of what makes an abduction. In fact, the literary sources attribute only two proper abductions to Theseus: Antiope's and Helen's. Those scenes are recognisable in artistic depictions thanks to the presence of the names of the characters involved, or to the unmistakable traits of the characters themselves. However, neither abduction should be an appropriate example of Theseus' identity as an ephebe, as in neither case should Theseus belong to the category of "ephebe" anymore.

According to the myth, Theseus abducted and married the queen of the Amazons, Antiope (or Hippolyta).¹⁴ This is a proper abduction, meeting all our

the gesture might not indicate a forceful abduction (or a wedding) in Geometric paintings as it does in later iconography but a mere farewell.

¹² Cf. Servadei 2005, 150-153.

¹³ From a modern point of view, we should talk of "elopement".

¹⁴ While literary sources are split between Antiope (Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.16; Diodorus Siculus 4.28.1; Hegias in Pausanias 1.2.1; Hellanicus *FGrH* 323a F 16; Herodotus *FGrH* 31 F 15; Pherekydes *FGrH* 3 F 151; Pindar in Pausanias 1.2.1; Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 110; Plutarch, *Theseus* 26-27; *scholion* to *Il.* 3.188-189) and Hippolyta (Simonides in Apollodorus 1.16; Isocrates 12.193-194; Apollodorus, *Epitome* 5.2), iconographic sources attest only the former as abducted by Theseus. Other traditions mention Melanippe (Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.16) or Glauce (Apollodorus, *Epitome* 5.2) as the Amazon abducted and married by Theseus. Cf. also Brommer 1982, 110-114; Blok 1995, 150-151, 175, 198; Servadei 2005, 134-141, 150-155.

requirements, and is depicted as such.¹⁵ The action is agitated, with the abductor bursting into the scene, lifting the struggling Amazon and departing, often in the direction of a chariot driven by his companion Peirithous. Often, Antiope is taken from the midst of her powerless fellow Amazons, just as any other abducted girl (including the Leucippides) could be taken from a group of dancing or celebrating girls.¹⁶ Amazons can be difficult to recognise with certainty, as their depictions seem to mix with Thracians, Persians, Phrygians, and Scythians, without any precise or predictable rationale.¹⁷ Among them, though, only an Amazon, being a woman, could be abducted. Nevertheless, Amazons are *armed* women, exceptional in their nature, almost like men; they usually fight and die like men, while these “female” scenes are considerably rarer and much less popular.¹⁸ In particular, they are connected to a very specific motif – the feminine and erotic nature of the Amazons as *parthenoi*, which made its appearance in Attic art in the last decades of the sixth century BC and gradually lost importance after the Persian Wars.¹⁹ Theseus can be depicted as youthful in appearance, sometimes in opposition to Peirithous, who is presented as a mature warrior (i.e. bearded and in hoplite attire);²⁰ however, most of these vases pre-date the affirmation of Theseus as exclusively an ephebic hero (c. middle of the fifth century BC), so he can still be depicted as bearded and wearing hoplitic gear.²¹ According to the myth, at the time of this abduction, he already had a wife and was no longer young.²²

¹⁵ Cf. *LIMC*, s.v. Antiope II, 4-13.

¹⁶ Cf. section 4.5. On Antiope’s case, cf. also Blok 1995, 314.

¹⁷ E.g. Shapiro 1983 notes how the Amazons got assimilated to the “two foreign warrior races well known to the Greeks – Thracians and Scythians” (106) with growing frequency from the second half of the sixth century BC; Barringer 2004 convincingly expands on the same topic. Cf. also Ivanchik 2005 on the identity of “Scythians” archers.

¹⁸ McNiven 2000, 128-129.

¹⁹ Shapiro 1989, 148-149 suggests that the loss of popularity of Antiope’s abduction was due to the Persian Wars; the Amazon, in fact, became the mythological embodiment of the Oriental barbarians, and their defeat by the Athenian hero (during Theseus’ Amazonomachy) became the mythological representation of the Athenian victory over the Persians. Something similar also in Arafat 1997, 107-108. Cf. also Webster 1972, 84-85; Blok 1995, 381, 402-403, 422-424, 441; Calame 1996a, 410-412; Servadei 2005, 153.

²⁰ E.g. London BM E 41. Cf. Neils 1987, 32-33.

²¹ Servadei 2005, 153.

²² This is a mature relationship, which leads to a wedding and the birth of a legitimate son, Hippolytus, and exists inside the legitimising borders of the city of Athens; it is not a fugacious love that takes place in liminal areas like Theseus’ previous erotic pursuits, but a relationship brought inside the civilised world and lived according to the laws of civilisation. Cf. Shapiro 1989, 148-149; Calame 1996a, 261-262.

A mature Theseus is also the protagonist of another abduction, that of Helen.²³ The sources report that Theseus was no longer an ephebe but an adult, and about 50 years old;²⁴ this abduction, therefore, should not have been perceived as a form of initiation for the young male. Theseus is no longer the initiated but exclusively the initiator.²⁵ Nevertheless, it seems clear that the illegitimate nature of this abduction (as Helen was too young) was not appreciated by the Athenians, who tried to disguise the dishonourable nature of their hero's deed by levelling the age difference between the characters in vase paintings.²⁶ Theseus was returned to his ephebic years, more appropriate for an abduction story, and Helen was depicted as a young adult;²⁷ thus, Helen's abduction becomes impossible to distinguish from any other "regular" abduction. As already discussed, the levelling of age differences is a typical phenomenon of wedding depictions, in which bride and groom are represented as ideal youths, close in age, dismissing the age differences that were common in real life.²⁸ Some legitimising traditions flourished around this episode, which was reinterpreted as a proper wedding or at least as a proper abduction of an adult woman, for instance by the Athenian and Argive tradition surrounding the birth of a child

²³ The oldest traces of this episode appear in the *Iliad* (3.143-144). Among the handmaids brought by Helen to Troy, we find Aithra, Theseus' mother; according to later traditions, Theseus left young Helen, after abducting her, with his mother. When the Dioscuri invaded Attica to save their sister, they took Aithra away with them. Aithra, therefore, would have remained in Helen's service after her wedding and even her departure for Troy. Theseus' sons, Demophon and Acamas, took part in the Trojan expedition in order to free their grandmother; it is commonly accepted that their appearance in the Trojan saga is due to an Athenian intervention, meant to make up for Theseus' absence from the most famous saga of Greece. The topic is largely discussed in scholarship and this is not the right place to dwell too much on it; cf. e.g. Neils 1987, 6-8; Shapiro 1989, 148; Calame 1996a, 399-400; Servadei 2005, 150-151, 155-160.

²⁴ Plutarch, *Theseus* 31.2.

²⁵ This part is typical of the groom in weddings, according to Avagianou 1991, 18.

²⁶ Cf. *LIMC*, s.v. Helen, 27-54. In all the depictions here listed, Helen appears to be an adult; the only exception (29) is, meaningfully, late (second century BC) and not Athenian (from Tanagra). Similarly, cf. also the mosaic in the House of the Abduction of Helen at Pella (c. 325-300 BC) in Cohen 2010, 43-45; Helen is characterised by her smaller size. The mosaic is comparatively late and comes from outside Attica. On the topic, cf. also Bonanno Aravantinos 1994, 17; Blok 1995, 262-263; Servadei 2005, 156. Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 217 notes that Helen is always veiled in this scene and assumes it to mean that girls were veiled from a young age, possibly from the onset of puberty; while the principle is probably correct, Helen's abduction by Theseus is not a convincing example, as Helen is always depicted as an adult (therefore veiled as one), although the myth suggests that she was still a child or, at most, in her early teens. On Helen's abduction, cf. also Brommer 1982, 93-96.

²⁷ Theseus is depicted as an ephebe, as described in the previous chapter: beardless, nude with only a chlamys or a *chitoniskos* (no armour), a spear in hand and/or a sword dangling from a bandoleer, possibly a petasos on his head. Concerning Helen, children are not a popular topic in vase paintings and, even when they are present, their depictions betray a certain difficulty in distinguishing them from adults. In most cases, for instance, they are depicted as scaled-down adults. Anyhow, it is clear that no effort was made in most depictions of Helen's abduction to flag up her young age.

²⁸ Cf. Goff 2004, 82.

from this union.²⁹ The scarcity of the episode limited its presence in the sources and cast doubt on the originality and antiquity of the episode itself. Nevertheless, the abduction of young Helen was a well-known and well-attested episode throughout the Greek world; for instance, Pausanias reports that the abduction was depicted on the Throne of Apollo in Amyklai and was implied by the depiction of Helen's recovery by the Dioscuri on Cypselus' chest at Olympia; both are dated to the sixth century BC.³⁰ The episode is regularly attested in art from the late sixth century BC onward.

A short, separate mention is required by another episode of Theseus' life: his participation in his friend Peirithous' attempt to abduct the Queen of the Underworld, Persephone. According to tradition, the two friends wanted to marry a daughter of Zeus each, so they planned to abduct Helen for Theseus and Persephone for Peirithous. However, the hubristic nature of this second deed, which offended a goddess, and a married one at that, condemned it to failure from the start, and the two heroes were kept as prisoners by Hades until Heracles' intervention.³¹ As a case of failed abduction tainted by hybris against goddesses (of which one was married), this episode might be considered in parallel with the Aloadae's attempted abduction of Hera and Artemis, which I have dismissed as a non-relevant example for our case. Indeed, the similarities are considerable, but Peirithous' and Theseus' attempted deed is more interesting for this study for two reasons: first, Peirithous intended to marry the abducted goddess, while the Aloadae's intentions are less clear but, apparently, less "legitimate". Secondly, as we shall discuss, it is necessary to consider it together and in relation to the other abduction acted out by the two heroes, that of Helen.

²⁹ Pausanias 2.22.6-7 states that Iphigenia was the daughter of Helen and Theseus according to Euphorion of Chalcis, Alexander of Pleuron and Stesichorus of Himera. The wedding of Theseus and Helen is attested by a red-figure volute krater found in Serra di Vaglio (Italy), attributed to the Talos Painter and dated to c. 425 BC (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Potenza, 54622). The scene depicts both Helen and Theseus as young adults. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31.1 knows of writers who tried to "correct" the accusation of unbecoming behaviour against Theseus but does not name them. Anyhow, he believes the version with an adult Theseus abducting a child Helen to be the most trustworthy and the best attested.

³⁰ Pausanias 3.18.15 and 5.19.3. The story was already known to Alcman (Pausanias 1.41.4). Other earlier attestations are mostly left in the realm of hypotheses; e.g. Blok 1995, 225-228 suggests that this abduction appeared in a series of reliefs on bronze shield-straps, probably of Argive production, attributed to the late seventh or first half of the sixth century BC. Watrous 1982, 169-171 suggests that the abduction of Helen by Theseus was the subject of the South frieze of the Siphnian Treasury in Delphi (second half of the sixth century BC). Cf. also Calame 1996a, 400-403; Servadei 2005, 155; Cohen 2010, 45-46.

³¹ E.g. Apollodorus 2.5.12. On this episode, cf. also Brommer 1982, 97-103.

Although the two episodes are connected by the presence of the same characters (Theseus and Peirithous), driven by the same intentions (marrying a daughter of Zeus), and following the same, agreed plan, the two abductions are also clearly separated, as they happen in different places and at different times (first Helen, then Persephone). Neither episode is common in iconography; in particular, visual arts seem to avoid the direct representation of Peirithous' impious attempt. In fact, he is either depicted as a helper during Theseus' other abductions (in particular of Helen and Antiope), or paying the consequences of his hybris in the Underworld, but never as actively pursuing the goddess.³² The synthetic depiction of the two episodes at the same time (i.e. Theseus abducting Helen and Peirithous abducting Persephone) has occasionally been suggested for double abductions (e.g. by Sourvinou-Inwood, cf. *supra*), but unconvincingly. While it is not possible to exclude this possibility *a priori*, it seems less likely than the identification of the scene as the abduction of Leucippides. First, the contemporary presence of both abductions is never attested with certainty, as there are no cases in which the characters are named; therefore, we cannot claim that this type of scene existed at all, all the more since Persephone's abduction is never attested on its own either. Secondly, we have argued that a double abduction without any particular trait can be successfully identified as the abduction of the Leucippides in most cases, if not all. Finally, young, mortal Helen would have been depicted differently from the married goddess Persephone; the same goes for Theseus and Peirithous, who are usually depicted as an ephebe in the former case, a hoplite in the latter.³³ Although occasionally present, differences between the abducted girls and between the abductors are not so clear-cut in most cases.

As seen so far, Theseus as mythological abductor should not be an ephebe according to written accounts, but he is often depicted as one even in the cases above. Therefore, we need to accept a considerable degree of separation between the versions adopted by written sources and the visual depictions of the same stories. It is evident that the reinterpretation of these mythological scenes in the direction of an

³² Cf. *LIMC*, s.v. Peirithoos, 32-68. Cf. Servadei 2005, 168-174.

³³ E.g. an Attic red-figure calyx-krater attributed to the Nekyia Painter (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 08.258.21), depicting Theseus and Peirithous in the Underworld; an Attic red-figure stamnos by Polygnotos (National Archaeological Museum in Athens, 18063), depicting Theseus leading Helen to a chariot led by Peirithous.

ephebic depiction of Theseus is a priority for the painters; those depictions justify the more questionable actions of the Athenian hero by levelling age differences and disregarding previous marriages. To do so, they purposefully muddle mythological episodes and general abduction scenes (with their specific meanings as previously discussed). In other words, the more the mythological scene looks like a generic scene, the more it can be used to express the general social values of abduction scenes discussed in the previous sections. The main purpose of these scenes becomes, in fact, not to reproduce a mythological episode faithfully, but to express “certain perceptions about women and male-female relationships”.³⁴ To better explain this last statement, we shall move our discussion on a series of vase paintings depicting Theseus in increasingly generic abduction scenes.

In these scenes, Theseus as abductor is identified and recognisable; however, he could be pursuing the “wrong” girl. For instance, on a lekane fragment in St. Petersburg, the girl is labelled as Thetis.³⁵ Naturally, this might have been an honest mistake by the painter, who confused Peleus and Theseus, but the scene does not seem to reflect the usual traits of Thetis’ abduction by Peleus (e.g. the “wrestling” position of Peleus and the presence of animals around Thetis, to symbolise her transformations).³⁶ On the other hand, the “wrong” name could have been Thetis’, who should be replaced by any other girl abducted by Theseus. Possibly, Theseus’ and Peleus’ erotic pursuits were perceived as being thematically so close that a slip from one myth to the other was possible and perfectly acceptable.³⁷ Anyhow, it seems evident that the specific, mythological identity of the characters involved was not relevant. “Theseus” is a generic ephebe pursuing a “Thetis” who is nothing more than a generic girl.

The next step in this generalisation of the scene follows naturally; the abducted girl no longer has a name, albeit a generic one.³⁸ She is a purely generic character, devoid of any peculiarity that could aid her identification. Possibly, the girl could be read as somehow related to Theseus’ ephebic persona and, therefore, his first

³⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 135 and 1990, 401.

³⁵ Hermitage P 1876-80; dated to c. 430-420 BC.

³⁶ The first interpretation is supported by Neils 1987, 111-112.

³⁷ Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 432-433; Servadei 2005, 162.

³⁸ Louvre G 423 and Worcester 1903.38. Only Theseus is identified by his name. Cf. Servadei 2005, 163-164, 166.

marriage; Sourvinou-Inwood, for instance, suggests her identification as Eriboea/Periboea (his first wife).³⁹ Naturally, Theseus' first wife is not the first female character that comes to mind when thinking of Theseus' youth; the honour would go to Ariadne but, as previously discussed, Ariadne is never abducted. However, it is not necessary for her to express or even to evoke a specific identity; the act of assigning a completely generic identity to the pursued girl makes Theseus' abduction enter in the wider realm of the "generic" (and therefore emblematic) abductions, which display no identifying details (including no background). We have already discussed the cultural values conveyed by abduction scenes in the case of the Leucippides; it is obvious that this cultural message is much more evident when not intertwined with the other meanings and messages that are peculiar of a specific mythological episode.

A final step could be made in this direction; if Theseus is the ideal ephebe and the ideal abductor, then even a completely generic scene (i.e. generic girl and generic abductor) could and should remind us of Theseus. Sourvinou-Inwood suggests a strong connection between generic abductors and Theseus.⁴⁰ We should not read this connection as an identity; generic abductors do not need *to be* Theseus but should be read as *imitating* Theseus, who is the Athenian model of ephebes and abductors. Therefore, the identity of our generic abductors shall remain generic, but Theseus' presence shall be felt as an underlining influence on the type of depiction.⁴¹

To summarise, abduction scenes with Theseus as protagonist share some fundamental traits with the abduction of the Leucippides as described above: first, the ephebic nature and appearance of the abductor and, therefore, the value of the abduction as an ephebic initiation. Theseus is the ephebe par excellence, and he also became the abductor par excellence. The two traits, though, did not necessarily overlap from the beginning or from every point of view; from the strictly mythological point of view, in fact, Theseus' ephebic adventures did not involve abductions, and his abductions were not carried out during his ephebic years.

³⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 136.

⁴⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 133-134 and 1990, 397-398. Neils 1987, 112 criticises the connection between Theseus and genre scenes.

⁴¹ A parallel phenomenon is discussed by Schnapp 1987 in hunting scenes, in particular boar hunts, in which the distinction between collective and individual hunts, and ephebic (i.e. generic) and heroic hunts becomes unclear, if not unnecessary at all, as the ambiguous scene takes on a paradigmatic meaning.

However, Theseus is always depicted as an ephebic abductor in the identifiable mythological scenes, and the two identities (ephebe and abductor) are felt as so complementary that he can be depicted as the ideal ephebic abductor also in partially generic scenes. Theseus was the cultural model of the Athenians, in particular of the Athenian ephebes; therefore, he was depicted as the ideal bearer of the socio-cultural values of the Athenian male youth, among which a central place was occupied by the affirmation of the order in the relations between male and female as suggested by the abduction scenes.⁴²

A.3. Peleus: the hunter

Our discussion of distinctive signs in abduction scenes leads us to our next example: the abduction of Thetis by Peleus.⁴³ Thetis, a Nereid (therefore, a sea goddess), was prophesied to give birth to a son who was destined to become much greater than his father; thus, the gods decided to marry her off to a worthy mortal (but a mortal nonetheless), Peleus.⁴⁴ However, Peleus had to capture her first. She used her divine powers to transform into fire, water and dangerous animals to escape, but Peleus held fast and, finally, she consented to the wedding. The struggle between Peleus and the shape-shifting Thetis is the most popular part of the myth in iconography, and also one of the earliest models of abduction scene in vase paintings, making its appearance in the second half of the sixth century BC.⁴⁵ It is easily recognisable by the contemporary presence of Thetis and some of her alternative shapes, such as a lion or a snake.⁴⁶ Also, Thetis often shows no apparent fear or distress, unlike other abducted girls, as discussed in a previous section. She is an immortal, so she has the

⁴² On the topic, cf. sections 4.4-4.6.

⁴³ The reference study on the episode is Barringer 1995, 69-94. It is important to stress that we only consider abduction scenes proper, not the wedding procession.

⁴⁴ Apollodorus 3.13.5. The story is known to Pindar (*Isthmian* 8, *Pythian* 3, *Nemean* 3, 4, 5). The wedding of Peleus and Thetis is in the *Iliad*'s background, but the abduction is not openly stated (although Thetis remembers that Zeus gave her to Peleus against her will - οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, *Il.* 18.434), nor is the prophecy on Thetis' son, although some scholars (e.g. Slatkin 1986 and 1991) have suggested that this episode is implied in the *Iliad*. Also in Alcaeus 42 Voigt, we find the wedding, but the abduction is not stated (the verb is ἄγω, which is typically used to express the action of "taking someone as a bride". Cf. the latin *uxorem ducere*).

⁴⁵ Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009, 344-345.

⁴⁶ E.g. a lion in an Attic red-figured kylix from Vulci by the Douris Painter (Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, 539); a serpent and a lion in an Attic red-figured kylix by Peithinos (Antikensammlung Berlin, F 2279).

means to protect herself: her transformations.⁴⁷ Peleus' position is also peculiar, as he "tackles" the goddess around her waist.⁴⁸ However, sometimes those features are absent, and the scheme of the abduction is quite similar to Theseus' generic abductions.⁴⁹ In these cases, the identification of the scene rests on minor distinctive signs; for instance, dolphins suggest the sea and the marine nature of the characters involved.⁵⁰

Thetis changes her appearance and transforms into animals. As already mentioned, animal hunting scenes often frame or accompany abduction scenes because of the common themes underlying both types of depiction; in particular, they are both ephebic activities with initiating undertones.⁵¹ In this case, the two scenes are not put side by side, but merged into one; Thetis' metamorphoses symbolically express the wild, "animal" nature of the girl untamed by marriage.⁵² This metaphorical expression is implied on some level in all abduction scenes; the girl is at the same time unmarried girl and wild animal, the ephebe is both abductor and hunter, and the abduction is simultaneously a hunt. However, in our case, the identification reaches completion and moves from the level of simile to that of visual identity, as the girl *transforms* into an animal in front of our eyes.

As previously discussed, the hunt is a symbol of male initiation into adulthood; however, abductions also belong to the wider category of metaphors of female initiation. Thetis' abduction is not excluded from this process of identification. Special circumstances should surround this story, as Thetis is a shape-shifting goddess who lives in the sea; yet her abduction is often inserted in the same background as her mortal peers in painting. Although the identification of a sanctuary in the scene is impossible, the abduction can happen by an altar, that is, in a sanctuary.

⁴⁷ McNiven 2000, 128.

⁴⁸ The peculiarity of this pose (μέσον λαβεῖν), a well-known wrestling hold, suggests the use of the scene also as a paradigm of wrestling (Webster 1972, 265). Again, Peleus was known as a wrestler; he took part in a famous wrestling match against Atalanta during the funerary games for Pelias (Apollodorus 3.9.2). This episode is not well attested in literature but appears frequently in vase painting (cf. Barringer 1996, 66-70). Therefore, a contamination between the two scenes is possible, if not probable.

⁴⁹ Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 134-135; Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009, 346-347.

⁵⁰ On Nereids' iconography, cf. Barringer 1995. For the abduction scene, cf. *LIMC*, s.v. Peleus, 47-190. On the different meanings of similar abduction scenes, cf. also Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009.

⁵¹ On depictions of hunting scenes as part of ephebic initiations, and hunts as erotically charged, cf. Barringer 1996 and 2001, 70-72 and 161-171. Cf. section 4.6.

⁵² Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1987, 138-139; Frontisi-Ducroux and Lissarrague 2009, 95-96; Topper 2012, 144.

When the focus of the scene is on Thetis' metamorphoses (and, therefore, divine identity), she and Peleus are the only protagonists of the scene; however, when Thetis does not transform and looks like a generic girl, she is also surrounded by frightened, scattering companions exactly like the Leucippides or many other abducted girls. Thetis' companions are her sisters, the Nereids; however, it seems clear that the Nereids themselves are not a necessary element of the episode. For instance, no literary source feels the need to explain that Thetis' abduction happened amid her sisters. In other words, the exact location and time of the abduction and the presence of companions are not relevant to its execution. The Nereids have a collective identity, so it would be easy to imagine Thetis being abducted from amidst them, but Thetis also has a peculiar, individual identity that isolates her from the group. She alone has a story, dealing with her abduction and wedding, with her famous son, but also with her interventions in Zeus' and Hephaestus' favour.⁵³ On the other hand, the escaping companions are a typical element of abduction scenes that happen in a sanctuary.⁵⁴ Therefore, we have no mythological reason to expect Thetis' abduction to happen in a sanctuary, nor to picture Thetis and her companions taking part in a rite of passage; however, they are depicted as such under the influence of other parallel scenes in which this context was acceptable. As a result, Thetis and the Nereids are depicted in the same way and with the same background as any other group of girls appearing in an abduction scene, because that met the expectations of the audience.⁵⁵ The abduction is a metaphor for marriage, and abducted girls are expected to be completing the initiatory rites before marriage; other myths (and generic, non-mythological abductions) offered a model, which was perceived as the correct way to depict them, despite the possible mythological discrepancy.

To sum up, the abduction of Thetis by Peleus shares with the abduction of the Leucippides a clear series of elements that can be grouped under the definition of

⁵³ *Iliad* 1.396-406 and 18.394-409.

⁵⁴ On the contrary, Stansbury-O'Donnell 2009, 346-347 suggests that the presence of the fleeing Nereids is enough to identify the scene with certainty; however, female companions of the abducted girl are a common feature of abduction scenes, and the identification of the Nereids often depends on the identification of the abducted girl, not the other way around. Nevertheless, Barringer 1995, 85-87 recognises a certain degree of stylisation and repetitiveness in the poses of the fleeing Nereids, which would suggest a wedding dance more than a proper escape, thus differentiating them from generic companions.

⁵⁵ Also, Nereids often appear in wedding scenes "as bridesmaids or assistants in wedding preparations" (Barringer 1991, 661), a detail that reinforces the wedding implications of the specific scene of abduction.

initiatory traits. In fact, this abduction appears to be both a male initiation, which is acted by an ephebe and takes the shape of a hunt, and a female initiation, in which the girl becomes (in this case, literally) the hunted animal that is tamed through marriage.⁵⁶ Also, the initiation is an individual experience but, at the same time, it is prepared by a whole group; the abducted girl lives the experience of the abduction amidst her peers, namely the other girls who take part in the same rite in a sanctuary. These expectations contribute to the construction of a specific type of scene, in which the structure of the scene is constant, but the identity of the characters involved shines through the distinguishing details.

A.4. Hades: the groom

The last parallel myth to consider is Hades' abduction of Kore/Persephone. Kore, the young daughter of Demeter and Zeus, was picking flowers with her companions when Hades, with Zeus' approval and, possibly, complicity, suddenly appeared in his chariot and took the girl underground, where he married her and made her the Queen of the Underworld.⁵⁷ This story is the quintessential abduction aimed at marriage, which makes it an ideal candidate for our comparison.⁵⁸ However, its usefulness and interest can be appreciated at their best only when considering the similarities together with the differences.

First, we shall start with a methodological consideration; most of the sources on the abduction of the Leucippides considered in this chapter have been visual. Our literary sources are mostly later, more probably because of an accident of transmission than because of an originally absence; as a consequence, our comparison with other myths has focused on visual similarities and differences. On

⁵⁶ In this discussion, we privileged the initiatory aspect connected to the hunt and the wedding, as explained in the introduction. However, Peleus and Thetis often appear in black-figure vases also during their wedding procession, as a mythological paradigm of the wedding procession itself. Cf. Webster 1972, 106-107, 252.

⁵⁷ The most ancient sources preserved are the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and Hesiod's *Theogony* (913b-914). Pausanias (7.21.9 and 9.29.8) knows of an Athenian hymn-writer called Pamphos, who composed a hymn to Demeter at an extremely early date (Pausanias 8.37.9 suggests that he was active even before Homer). On the literary sources of the story, cf. Richardson 1974, 74-86 and Foley 1994, 97-103. Scholars have long debated the existence of one or more Orphic poems dealing with Persephone's abduction; traces have been recognised in the P. Berol. inv. 13044 V, recently discussed by Jiménez San Cristóbal 2015. Cf. also Richardson 1974, 77-86; Dimou 2016, 32-39.

⁵⁸ Foley 1994, 104.

the other hand, the abduction of Persephone is not as common a topic in visual arts as it is in literature;⁵⁹ nevertheless, we can still identify the same abduction-motif tropes.

To be sure, the episode is granted considerable relevance by literary sources; therefore, more details are presented to set the scene. These details, however, are not specific to the abduction of Persephone; they are the same traits we recognised in the other abductions. First, we shall acknowledge a similar background; altars (and therefore sanctuaries) are not explicitly mentioned, but Persephone is in a meadow (i.e. in an open space, outside the city and far from her house), an obvious exception to the expected behaviour of an average Greek girl, which is acceptable only in very specific (i.e. cultic) contexts. She is also picking flowers; while not a common occurrence in the case of the Leucippides, this is a typical activity of abducted girls, insofar as it is a typical activity of adolescent girls who belong to pre-marriage cults and groups.⁶⁰ Persephone, in fact, is not alone, but often surrounded by companions – other girls of her age and social status who partake in her same, collective activity.⁶¹

The fact that Hades always abducts the girl in a chariot is the first significant connection to both the Leucippides and wedding scenes.⁶² In fact, this is a typical trait of black-figure abductions, but also of contemporary wedding procession depictions; this connection was particularly evident in the case of the Leucippides, as discussed previously, since abduction and wedding procession often shared typical traits in this case. Even more meaningful is the fact that these common traits also persist in red-figure vases and late depictions, when wedding processions with chariots become rarer and get progressively substituted by the *χείρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ* model. The Leucippides, though, keep being abducted on chariots and their abduction scenes

⁵⁹ Persephone's abduction does not appear on any preserved black-figure vase, and only on two red-figure vases (cf. Dimou 2016, 42). A complete catalogue of the depictions (both iconographic and literary) of this myth has been published by Lindner 1984; of 158 catalogue entries, only 29 are Greek (the others are mostly Roman).

⁶⁰ E.g. flower-picking and wreath-weaving in Sappho's *thiasos*. On the connection between flower-picking and abductions, cf. Motte 1971, 38-48; Lincoln 1979, 224; DeBloois 1997, 248. There is an underlying identification between young girls and meadows: blossoming beauty, female identity of nature, fertility, defloration (the abduction as sexual experience finds its parallel in the flower-gathering that precedes it) are all concepts applied to both. It is especially poignant that the female sexual organ can be designated in Greek as *λειμών*, i.e. meadow (Motte 1971, 44-53).

⁶¹ According to the *Homeric Hymn*, the Oceanids, Artemis and Athena. All of them were goddesses and *parthenoi*, just like Kore. Cf. also the Orphic poem mentioned above. Richardson 1974, 19 speaks of a "chorus of flower-gathering nymphs".

⁶² Naturally, a chariot is also Hades' usual mean of transportation.

keep showing a similar structure to the older, traditional depiction of the wedding procession. The same goes for Persephone.

Another point, directly following the first, shared by Persephone's abduction and the Leucippides' is the variable amount of resistance on the abducted girl's part. A common trait of the literary versions – in particular, the *Hymn to Demeter* – is Kore's opposition to the abduction and her desperation at her fate in the Underworld; her literary reluctance is reflected in many artistic depictions of the scene itself, and is typical of abductions, in which dishevelled girls plead for help with their arms outstretched towards equally powerless companions.⁶³ However, Persephone's abduction resembles the abduction of the Leucippides inasmuch as there can also be acceptance in it. In fact, Hades and Persephone are considered properly wedded, and Persephone legitimately becomes the Queen of the Underworld after her abduction. An official wedding does not follow the abduction and, possibly, was not considered necessary either; the abduction *is* their wedding. Therefore, as in the case of the Leucippides, the two scenes – abduction and wedding – bleed into each other, creating a hybrid scene that is, formally speaking, an abduction, but looks like a solemn wedding procession, in which the bride stands straight and put together in the chariot that leads her to her new life as a wife.⁶⁴

Finally, we discussed that a common element marking the “passage” from abduction to a proper wedding is the approval of the girl's father; in iconography, this is often expressed through the presence of an older man who is informed of the abduction or witnesses it from afar. Although not physically present, Zeus' intervention in the abduction of Persephone is a constant; Hades' venture would not have happened without Zeus' approval.⁶⁵ The girl's mother is, instead, a less relevant

⁶³ E.g. the famous painting of Vergina (Tomb I, c. 340 BC; *LIMC* s.v. Hades 104). Cf. also *LIMC* s.v. Hades 112-113 (Apulian vases). Interestingly, Persephone's abduction is more dramatic in Apulian vases and Roman depictions, while it can be presented as a solemn wedding procession in Athenian vase paintings (e.g. *LIMC* s.v. Hades 84 and 89). On the girl's point of view, cf. Foley 1994, 103-112; DeBloois 1997.

⁶⁴ Cf. sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2. This evolution is not exclusive to Attica but is particularly relevant to the Locrian pinakes and a series of vases from Magna Graecia (e.g. an Apulian red-figure volute krater by the Iliupersis Painter (c. 360-350 BC), BM F 277, or an Apulian red-figure hydria (c. 340-330 BC), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 07.128.1).

⁶⁵ *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 19-33; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 912-914; Apollodorus 1.5.1. On the topic, cf. DeBloois 1997, 248. Lincoln 1979, 227 does not accept the wedding symbolism of Kore's abduction since Hades, being the girl's uncle, would not be a suitable husband. This is far from true; we only need to mention the laws concerning the Athenian figure of the ἐπικληρός, the heiress, who was encouraged to marry her closest relative on the paternal side (often an uncle). Also, it should be

figure; in a couple of cases considered in the previous sections, we isolated a female character among the female companions who could potentially be identified as the Leucippides' mother. The bride's mother belongs to the wedding scene, but her approval of the wedding (and of the abduction) is not essential.⁶⁶ Quite different is the situation of Persephone's mother, Demeter, whose desperate disapproval is the real core of the story of Persephone's abduction. Nevertheless, it should be noted that both the abduction and the wedding happen despite Demeter's opposition; still, her opposition is a force with which the other (male) gods must reckon. However, she is a goddess; the same relevance is never granted to a mortal mother's desperation.

This last point leads us naturally to the differences that set Persephone's story apart from the parallels considered so far. First and foremost, all the characters involved are gods.⁶⁷ As just seen, this accords unparalleled dignity and importance to the character of the girl's mother. The divine nature of all characters charges the story with an extra layer of meaning, as the episode is not only relevant to the everyday lives of mortals, but also in the larger context of religion. Persephone's abduction is not only a story about the initiation of a girl to adulthood through marriage, but also the story of a divine wedding that rewrote the religious landscape of the Underworld. Consequently, the abduction episode is more relevant and widespread in contexts in which Persephone's cult is well established, while other contexts prefer other myths to express the same social meaning. In this regard, it should be noted that the vast majority of iconographic sources on Kore's abduction come from Southern Italy, where the cult of the dead and, in particular, of Persephone as Queen of the Underworld was prominent.⁶⁸ Therefore, the depictions of the abduction focused on the legitimacy of the union that introduced her to her new godly position; on the other hand, this aspect was less relevant where the cult of Demeter

considered that marriages between close relatives are a common practice among Greek gods; Persephone's parents are brother and sister, for instance, and no reproach has ever been attached to the gods' behaviour. Her marrying her uncle could have hardly seemed inappropriate.

⁶⁶ On the powerlessness of the heroine's mother during an abduction, cf. also Lyons 1997, 60-62.

⁶⁷ On the topic, Foley 1994, 104-107 makes an interesting point; the wedding between Persephone and Hades is a wedding between gods, yet its structure makes it much closer to human experience than any other divine wedding. In fact, divine unions are essentially endogamous, as the gods live in community and, therefore, weddings do not imply a separation between mother and daughter. However, Persephone is taken to another realm, where her mother cannot join or even visit her, which draws Persephone closer to human experience.

⁶⁸ *LIMC*, s.v. Hades, 75-120 and Persephone, add.27. Cf. especially in Locri.

was prevalent, and the focus of the abduction was on Demeter's sufferings.⁶⁹ For instance, in Athens, the story was certainly known for its cultic meaning, being the mythological episode behind the Eleusinian mysteries; however, the secrecy surrounding the items, rites and contents of the Mysteries has prevented us from knowing much about the way in which Kore's abduction was perceived and used in this context and in relation to a wider public.⁷⁰

So far, we have seen all the traits shared by the abduction of Persephone and other abductions (first and foremost the Leucippides'); the main difference was found in the contemporary existence of a cultic meaning of the episode that depended on the divine nature of the characters involved. This was more evident in literary sources, where the unfolding of the scene and of its consequences could be narrated in detail; however, some secondary traits contribute to the identification of the scene also in iconography. For instance, we noticed that abductors are usually ephebes, and so are grooms; Hades, instead, does not fit in this category. He is a mature male, recognisable by the long beard, which is an uncommon trait for both abductors and grooms.⁷¹ First and foremost, he is a god, and his depictions must reflect the proper way of representing Zeus' brother.

Also, Hades is not just any god, but the god of the dead; an abduction by him was naturally read also as an abduction by death. Abductions and weddings were considered close to death themselves, as an irreversible passage to another life condition. Interestingly, the untimely death of an unmarried girl was commonly perceived in Greece as a wedding to Hades, a wedding to death.⁷² Therefore,

⁶⁹ This is particularly clear in the *Hymn to Demeter*. A similar process can be envisioned in the second *stasimon* Euripides' *Helen*, although the point of view of the story much depends on the meaning attributed to it by the poet in its specific literary context (cf. e.g. Friedman 2007, 203-210).

⁷⁰ In particular, the question concerns the sacred drama that, according to Clement (*Protrepticus* 2.12.2), was enacted for the initiates during the Mysteries. Richardson 1974, 25 believes that the "enactment of the myth was purely formal, partly perhaps by means of dancing with torches"; therefore, the abduction was an integral part of the ritual, but it did not belong to a dramatic representation. More recently, Clinton 2010, 353 suggests that it was only presupposed by the secret mysteries and not acted out during the "Sacred Drama". Cf. also Foley 1994, 68. Among the most recent studies on the performance of the Eleusinian Mysteries, cf. Bremmer 2011a and Dimou 2016, 177-189.

⁷¹ The only parallel I could find was another peculiar abduction myth, well-known in Athens: Boreas' abduction of Oreithyia, in which the wind god is depicted as a bearded man.

⁷² The theme is particularly recurring in Sophocles' *Antigone*; death and marriage are also intertwined in the stories of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, Sophocles' *Medea* (in the figure of Glauke) and Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. Weddings and funerals shared some structural traits, such as songs (possibly of lamentation), ritual preparations, a torch-lit procession to a new and unknown abode and the separation

Persephone's abduction and marriage were placed at the conjunction of three different themes: Hades as death, abduction/wedding as death, marriage to death.⁷³ Those themes are already strictly interwoven in the *Hymn to Demeter* and, possibly, became the conventional meaning of the whole episode with time. Demeter's reaction to the abduction in the Hymn is, in fact, more appropriate for a death than a wedding; it cannot be her daughter's wedding for her because she has been deprived of her moment to accept and legitimise the wedding through her participation in the procession taking her daughter away. The delicate balance between the elements at play also emerges from the iconography of the scene. The "wedding with death" motif usually resembles the late model of wedding procession by foot with $\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\ \epsilon\pi\iota\ \kappa\alpha\rho\pi\tilde{\omega}$, while Persephone's abduction always maintains her traditional scheme of wedding procession with chariots.⁷⁴ Another layer of meaning is added by the metaphorical reading of the scene. Persephone's is a metaphorical death, similar to the one undergone by the initiate to a mystery cult. Quite appropriately, the most famous mystery cult is the Eleusinian Mysteries, which revolved around the abduction of Persephone.⁷⁵ All abduction stories, as previously discussed, have the meaning of initiation, as they act out a transformative action that leads a female from the status of *parthenos* to that of *gyne*, and finds its natural correspondent in the wedding. In Persephone's case, this transformative action is charged with additional meanings, as hers is an all-compassing transformation of identity, from Kore to Persephone, from girl to wife and queen, but it is also a cyclical passage from life to death.

In conclusion, the story of Hades and Persephone has proved useful in recognising the fundamental traits and values of an abduction scene, even across media; in fact, the same details that were identifiable in iconography, appear now also in literature to create the same atmosphere, background and expectations as in visual arts. Therefore, we spotted the recurring traits that suggest the equivalence between abduction and female initiation: the secluded location, the companions and

from the family of origin. On the connection between wedding and death, cf. e.g. Seaford 1987, 106-119; Rehm 1994; Ferrari 2002, 190-194; Cairns 2016, 106-110.

⁷³ DeBloois 1997. A similar case in Barringer 1991, who discusses the implications of the abduction of Europa by Zeus depicted on a series of fish plates found in funerary contexts.

⁷⁴ Rehm 1994, 35; DeBloois 1997, 250.

⁷⁵ Richardson 1974, 19; Cohen 2010, 213.

the flower-picking. Hereafter, we moved on to the wedding suggestions: the chariot, the father's approval, and the presence or absence of the mother. While the focus of the episode is always on the abduction itself, its nature as a wedding can be perceived in the background throughout the story. Finally, we recognised the peculiarities of this abduction, which can be summarised as consequences of the specifically divine identities of the characters involved. Demeter is relevant to the story inasmuch she is a crossed goddess, rather than just the mother of an abducted girl. Hades behaves like an abducting ephebe, but cannot be depicted as such, as he belongs to the first generation of Olympians, who are mature gods whose primary identity is of parents and not of sons and daughters. Persephone is not simply an abducted girl but a goddess in her own right, meant to become an even more important goddess through marriage; therefore, the story of her abduction is charged with religious meaning that is completely foreign to other abductions. Consequently, it belongs specifically to geographical and social contexts in which her cult is relevant, contexts in which the religious value of the episode can be expressed and perceived as the main content of the story. This was certainly important in Locri and in the colonies of Magna Graecia where her cult was predominant; possibly, this was also a relevant aspect of the Eleusinian sphere of influence, but the absence of clear attestations prevents us from moving our speculation any further.

Appendix B - Catalogue of Literary Sources

1. Alcman, fr. 1, 1-36

[] Πωλυδεύκης·
[οὐκ ἐγὼ]ν Λύκαισον ἐν καμοῦσιν ἀλέγω
[Ἐνα]ρσφόρον τε καὶ Σέβρον ποδώκη
[]ν τε τὸν βιατὰν
[]. τε τὸν κορυστὰν
[Εὐτείχη] τε Φάνακτά τ' Ἀρήιον
[]ά τ' ἔξοχον ἡμισίων·
[]ν τὸν ἀγρόταν
[] μέγαν Εὐρυτόν τε
[]πώρῳ κλόνον
[]. τε τὼς ἀρίστως
[] παρήσομες
[]αρ Αἴσα παντῶν
[] γεραιτάτοι
[ἀπ]έδιλος ἀλκὰ
[μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω
[μηδὲ πη]ρήτω γαμῆν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν
[Ε]άν[α]σσαν ἢ τιν'
[] ἢ παῖδα Πόρκῳ
[Χά]ριτες δὲ Διὸς δ[ό]μον
[]σιν ἐρογλεφάροι·
[]τάτοι
[]τα δαίμων
[]ι φίλοις
[]ωκε δῶρα
[]γαρέον
[]ώλεσ' ἦβα
[]ρονον
[].ταίας
[]έβα· τῶν δ' ἄλλος ἰῶι
[] μαρμάρῳι μυλάκρῳι
[].εν Ἀΐδας
[]αυτοὶ
[]'πον· ἄλαστα δὲ
Φέργα πάσον κακὰ μεσημένιοι·
ἔστι τις σιῶν τίσις·
ὃ δ' ὄλβιος, ὅστις εὐφρων
ἀμέραν [δι]απλέκει
ἄκλαυτος...

... Polydeukes. But I do not count among the fallen Lykaithos, Enasphoros and swift-footed Sebro... and mighty... and the helmeted... and [Euteiche] and lord Areios and... mightiest of the demigods... the hunter and the great Eurytos...

blind turmoil... the bravest men... we shall disregard... Destiny... the oldest of all... unshod strength... No man shall fly to the sky, nor desire to marry lady Aphrodite or any... or a daughter of Porkos or the Graces from the house of Zeus, with their eyes that rouse love... The most... fate... to friends... gave gifts... destroyed youths... departed; one by an arrow, [another] by a marble millstone... to Hades... Having devised evil deeds, they suffered sorrows not to be forgotten. There is retribution from the gods. Blessed he is who, being of sound mind, weaves his days tearless.

2. Commentary to Alcman, P. Oxy. 2389, fr. 8, 1-6

ἀν-
δροδαμά[σαι
Φοίβη καὶ Ἰλάειρα
ται Ἀπόλλ[ωνος
στροφε τον[
συλληπτικ[
θεῶν[

... could tame men... Phoebe and [Hilaeira], [daughters] of Apollo... turned (?) the... helping... of the gods...

3. Commentary to Alcman, P. Oxy. 2390, fr. 1, 3-13

τ]οῦ Πολυδεύ[κεος
]ρχας οδεξο
Κάστ]ωρ ἕως τοῦ
]ος ηνεξο
]γ. ἀπέφευ-
]. ἔβλαψεν
Π]ολυδεύκης
κασιγ]νήταν σα
κ]ασιγνητ[
]αιστη[
]αντα[

... of Polydeukes... Castor... until... fled... Polydeukes saw the sister...

4. *Schol. Hes. Theog. 142* (frg. 52 M-W)

πῶς γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς θεοῖς ἐναλγικίους λέγει καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Λευκιπίδων καταλόγῳ ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνηρῆσθαι ποιεῖ;...

For how can he say that they (i.e. the Cyclops) are like the gods and then make them killed by Apollo in the Catalogue of the Leucippides?

5. *Scholion ad Pindari Nemeam X, 112a.*

ἡ ἱστορία ἐστὶ τοιαύτη. Λυγκεὺς καὶ Ἴδας οἱ Ἀφαρέως παῖδες ἐμνηστεύσαντο τὰς δύο Λευκίππου θυγατέρας Φοίβη καὶ Ἑλάειραν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν γάμων εὐωχίαν τοὺς Διοσκόρους εἰς ἐστίασιν ἐκάλεσαν· οἱ δὲ τὰς κόρας ἀφαρπάσαντες ἀπέφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἐπεδίωκον, καὶ συνίσταται τοῖς Ἀφαρητιάδαις καὶ τοῖς Διοσκούροις μάχη περὶ τῶν γάμων, καὶ ἀναιρεῖται Κάστωρ· εἴτα Πολυδεύκης ἀνεῖλεν ἀμφοτέρους, συμπράξαντος τοῦ Διὸς καὶ κεραυνὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπιέμψαντος. ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος οὐ διὰ τὰς νύμφας φησὶν αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι τὴν στάσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ βοῶν ἀπελασίαν.

Such is the story. Lynceus and Idas, the sons of Aphareus, were engaged to the two daughters of Leucippus, Phoebe and Hilaeira; during the wedding banquet, they invited the Dioscuri to eat with them, but they grabbed the girls and ran away, and the others chased after them, and a battle concerning the marriage was fought between the Apharetidae and the Dioscuri, and Castor was killed; then Polydeukes killed both his enemies, since Zeus helped him and sent his lightning bolt against them. Pindar says that the fight did not happen between them because of the new brides, but because they took off with some cattle.

6. Bacchylides, fr. 61 Maehler

Λευκιπίδες

ιοδερκέϊ τελλόμεναι
Κύπριδι νεοκέ[λ]αδον
ε]ὐειδέα χόρον
...

Leucippides

(Girls) performing a new-sounding, comely dance for violet-eyed Cypris...

7. Euripides, *Helen* 1465-1470

ἦ που κόρας ἄν ποταμοῦ
παρ' οἶδμα Λευκιπίδας ἦ πρὸ ναοῦ
Παλλάδος ἄν λάβοι
χρόνῳ ξυνελθοῦσα χοροῖς
ἦ κώμοις Ὑακίν-
θου νύχιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν [...]

Undoubtedly, she could find the daughters of Leucippus by the river swell or in front of the temple of Pallas, as she joins them at long last for the choruses or revels of Hyacinthus for their nocturnal festivity [...]

8. Aristotle, *Rhetorics* 2.23.5 (1397b 18-23)

ἔτι εἰ μήτε μᾶλλον μήτε ἥττον· ὅθεν εἴρηται "καὶ σὸς μὲν οἰκτρὸς παῖδας ἀπολέσας πατήρ· Οἰνεὺς δ' ἄρ' οὐχὶ κλεινὸν ἀπολέσας γόνον;" καὶ ὅτι, εἰ μὴδὲ Θησεὺς ἠδίκησεν, οὐδ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ εἰ μὴδ' οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι, οὐδ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ εἰ Πάτροκλον Ἑκτώρ, καὶ Ἀχιλλέα Ἀλέξανδρος.

Furthermore, if (the comparison is) not of greater or lesser; whence they say "Your father, too, is pitiable because he lost his children; is not Oineus so, having lost his illustrious offspring?" And if Theseus did nothing wrong, nor did Alexander; if not the Tyndaridai, nor did Alexander; and if Hector (when he killed) Patroclus, nor Alexander (when he killed) Achilles.

9. Theocritus, 22.137-180

Τὼ μὲν ἀναρπάξαντε δὺω φερέτην Διὸς υἱὸν
δοιᾶς Λευκίπποιο κόρας· δισσὼ δ' ἄρα τώγε
ἐσσυμένως ἐδίωκον ἀδελφεὸν υἱὸν Ἀφαρῆος,
γαμβρὸν μελλογάμω, Λυγκεὺς καὶ ὁ καρτερὸς Ἴδας
ἀλλ' ὅτε τύμβον ἵκανον ἀποφθιμένου Ἀφαρῆος,
ἐκ δίφρων ἅμα πάντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ὄρουσαν
ἔγχεσι καὶ κοίλοισι βαρυνόμενοι σακέεσσι.
Λυγκεὺς δ' ἄρ' μετέειπεν, ὑπὲρ κόρυθος μέγ' αὖσας,
ἑκατόμβη, τί μάχης ἰμείρετε; πῶς δ' ἐπὶ νύμφαις
ἀλλοτρίαις χαλεποί, γυμναὶ δ' ἐν χερσὶ μάχαιραι;
ἡμῖν τοι Λεύκιππος ἐὰς ἔδνωσε θυγάτρας
τάσδε πολὺ προτέροις· ἡμῖν γάμος οὗτος ἐν ὄρκῳ.
ὕμεις δ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίοις λέχεσσι
βουσί καὶ ἡμιόνοις καὶ ἄλλοις κτεάτεσσιν
ἄνδρα παρετρέψασθε, γάμον δ' ἐκλέψατε δώροις.
ἢ μὴν πολλάκις ὕμιν ἐνώπιον ἀμφοτέροισιν
αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τάδ' ἔειπα καὶ οὐ πολὺ μῦθος ἐὼν περ·
"οὐχ οὕτω, φίλοι ἄνδρες, ἀριστήεσσιν ἔοικε
μνηστεύειν ἀλόχους, αἷς νυμφῖοι ἤδη ἐτοῖμοι.
πολλὴ τοι Σπάρτη, πολλὴ δ' ἱππῆλατος Ἥλις
Ἀρκαδίη τ' εὐμηλὸς Ἀχαιῶν τε πτολίεθρα
Μεσσήνη τε καὶ Ἄργος ἅπασά τε Σισυφίς ἀκτὴ·
ἐνθα κόραι τοκέεσσιν ὑπὸ σφετέροισι τρέφονται
μυρία οὔτε φυῆς ἐπιδευέες οὔτε νόοιο,
τάων εὐμαρὲς ὕμιν ὀπιέμεν ἄς κ' ἐθέλητε·
ὥς ἀγαθοῖς πολέες βούλονται πενθεροὶ εἶναι,
ὕμεις δ' ἐν πάντεσσι διάκριτοι ἠρώεσσι,

καὶ πατέρες καὶ ἄνωθεν ἅπαν πατρώιον αἶμα.
 ἀλλὰ, φίλοι, τοῦτον μὲν ἐάσατε πρὸς τέλος ἐλθεῖν
 ἄμμι γάμον· σφῶν δ' ἄλλον ἐπιφραζώμεθα πάντες.”
 ἴσκον τοιάδε πολλά, τὰ δ' εἰς ὕγρὸν ὥχετο κῦμα
 πνοιῇ ἔχουσ' ἀνέμοιο, χάρις δ' οὐχ ἔσπετο μύθοις·
 σφῶ γὰρ ἀκηλήτω καὶ ἀπηγέες. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
 πείθεσθ'· ἄμφω δ' ἄμμιν ἀνεψιῶ ἐκ πατρός ἐστον.
 εἰ δ' ὑμῖν κραδίη πόλεμον ποθεῖ, αἵματι δὲ χρή
 νεῖκος ἀναρρήξαντας ὁμοίον ἔγχεα λοῦσαι,
 Ἴδας μὲν καὶ ὄμαιμος ἐμός, κρατερὸς Πολυδεύκης,
 χεῖρας ἐρώησουσιν ἀποσχομένῳ ὑσμίνης·
 νῶι δ', ἐγὼ Κάστωρ τε, διακρινώμεθ' Ἄρηι,
 ὀπλοτέρῳ γεγαῶτε. γονεῦσι δὲ μὴ πολὺ πένθος
 ἡμετέροισι λίπωμεν. ἄλις νέκυς ἐξ ἐνὸς οἴκου
 εἰς· ἀτὰρ ὧλλοι πάντας εὐφρανέουσιν ἐταίρους,
 νυμφῖοι ἀντὶ νεκρῶν, ὑμεναιώσουσι δὲ κούρας
 τάσδ'. ὀλίγῳ τοι ἔοικε κακῶ μέγα νεῖκος ἀναιρεῖν.'

The two sons of Zeus had abducted and were carrying off the two daughters of Leucippus; but the two brothers, sons of Aphareus – betrothed to them and about to get married – Lynceus and mighty Idas, vehemently chased after them. But when they reached the tomb of dead Aphareus, they all together jumped off their chariots and lunged at each other, weighed down by their spears and their concave shields. But Lynceus said, crying aloud from beneath his helmet: “Fools, why do you yearn for the battle? And how are you hostile for someone else’s brides, naked swords in your hands? For to us first – and for along time – Leucippus betrothed these daughters of his; to us this marriage was promised with an oath. You instead, to gain someone else’s nuptials, made him change his mind in an unseemly fashion, through cattle and mules and other goods, and stole our marriage by bribes. Most assuredly, I have often pronounced these words in front of both of you, despite not being a man of many words: “Not like this, my friends, it is the proper way for excellent men to woo brides, who already have grooms at their disposal. For Sparta is wide, and horse-breeding Elis is wide, and Arcadia of the numerous flocks, and the cities of the Achaeans, and Messene, and also Argos and all the coast of Sisyphus; there, innumerable maidens are raised by their parents, lacking nothing, neither in beauty nor in mind, maidens of which it would be easy for you to marry whoever you wanted; for many would want to be fathers-in-law to valiant men, and you set yourself apart from all the heroes, and your fathers, and all the progeny of your fathers before. But, my friends, let this marriage be accomplished for us; let us consider all together another marriage for you”. I used to speak many similar words, but the breath of wind carried them to the wet waves, and favour did not speak with my words; for the two of you are hard and inflexible. But even now, listen; both of you are our cousins on our father’s side. But if your heart craves the fight, and it is unavoidable to dissolve this dispute equally grievous to all with blood and to bathe our spears in it, Idas and my relative, mighty Polydeukes, shall hold their hands back, both avoiding the battle; but the two of us, Castor and I, let us settle the dispute with weapons, being the younger. Let us not leave a great sorrow to

our parents. One death is enough from one house; however, the others shall gladden all their friends, as bridegrooms instead of corpses, and marry these girls. It is advisable to eliminate a great dispute with a small ill.”

10. Lycophron, *Alexandra* 535-549

ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ τις, ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα
ἡμῖν ἄρωγός πρευμενὴς ὁ Δρύμνιος
δαίμων Προμανθεὺς Αἰθίοψ Γυράψιος,
ὅς, τὸν πλανήτην ὀρθάγην ὅταν δόμοις
σίνιν καταρρακτῆρα δέξωνται πικρὸν
οἱ δεινὰ κάποθεστα πείσεσθαί ποτε
μέλλοντες ἐν τε δαιτὶ καὶ θαλυσίοις
λοιβαῖσι μειλίσσωσιν ἀστεργῇ Κράγον,
θήσει βαρὺν κολῶν ἐν λέσχαις μέσον.
καὶ πρῶτα μὲν μύθοισιν ἀλλήλους ὁδᾶξ
βρύξουσι κηκασμοῖσιν ὠκρινόμενοι,
αὖθις δ' ἐναιχμάσουσιν αὐτανέψιοι,
ἀνεψιαῖς ὄρνισι χραισμησαὶ γάμους
βαιοκλῶπας ἀρπαγὰς τε συγγόνων
χρήζοντες ἀλφῆς τῆς ἀεδνώτου δίκην.

But there is one, there is for us, even against every hope, a benevolent rescuer, the god Drymnus Promantheus Aethiops Gyrapsius, who, when they who are destined to suffer someday terrible and despicable deeds shall receive the wandering Orphanes, the cruel destroyer, in their houses, while they propitiate the relentless Cragos with a banquet and first fruits for libations, will put in the midst of their discussions a heavy contest. And first, angered, they shall bear their teeth at each other with words, but then the own cousins shall fight with spears, eagerly trying to save the bird-cousins from a marriage obtained through robbery and an abduction of their own kin, in vengeance for the acquisition (*scilicet* of brides) without wedding gifts.

11. Apollodorus 3.10.3

[...] Κυνόρτου δὲ Περιήρης, ὃς γαμεῖ Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως, καθάπερ Στησίχορός φησι, καὶ τίκτει Τυνδάρεων Ἰκάριον Ἀφαρέα Λεύκιππον. Ἀφαρέως μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀρήνης τῆς Οἰβάλου Λυγκεὺς τε καὶ Ἴδας καὶ Πεῖσος· κατὰ πολλοὺς δὲ Ἴδας ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος λέγεται. Λυγκεὺς δὲ ὀξυδερκία διήνεγκεν, ὥς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆν θεωρεῖν. Λευκίππου δὲ θυγατέρες ἐγένοντο Ἰλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη· ταύτας ἀρπάσαντες ἔγημαν Διόσκουροι. [...]

Perieres, son of Cynortas, who married Gorgophone daughter of Perseus, as Stesichorus says, also begot Tyndareus, Icarius, Aphareus, Leucippus. Then, Lynceus and Idas and Peisus were born from Aphareus and Arene, daughter of

Oibalos; however, many say that Idas was engendered by Poseidon. Lynceus excelled for his sharp-sightedness, so that he could allegedly also see under the ground. Hilaeira and Phoibe were Leucippus' daughters; the Dioscuri, having abducted them, married them. [...]

12. Apollodorus 3.11.2

τῶν δὲ ἐκ Λήδας γενομένων παίδων Κάστωρ μὲν ἥσκει τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον, Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυγμὴν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐκλήθησαν ἀμφοτέρωι Διόσκουροι. βουλόμενοι δὲ γῆμαι τὰς Λευκίππου θυγατέρας ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἀρπάσαντες ἔγημαν· καὶ γίνεται μὲν Πολυδεύκους καὶ Φοίβης Μνησίλεως, Κάστορος δὲ καὶ Ἰλαείρας Ἀνώγων. [...]

Of the sons born from Leda, Castor practiced the arts of war, while Polydeukes of boxing, and they were both called Dioscuri because of their bravery. Since they wanted to marry the daughters of Leucippus, they abducted them from Messene and married them. Mnesileos was born from Polydeukes and Phoibe, Anogon from Castor and Hilaeira.

13. Plutarch, *Moralia* 302d

‘Διὰ τί ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρὰ τὸ τῶν Λευκιππίδων ἱερὸν ἵδρυται τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ἡρώων;’ Ἐργίαιος, εἷς τῶν Διομήδους ἀπογόνων, ὑπὸ Τημένου πεισθεὶς ἐξέκλεψε τὸ παλλάδιον ἐξ Ἀργούς, συνειδότης Λεάγρου καὶ συνεκκλέπτοντος· ἦν δ’ οὗτος εἷς τῶν Τημένου συνήθων. ὕστερον δὲ τῷ Τημένῳ γενόμενος δι’ ὀργῆς ὁ Λεάγρος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα μετέστη τὸ παλλάδιον κομίζων. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς δεξάμενοι προθύμως ἰδρύσαντο πλησίον τοῦ τῶν Λευκιππίδων ἱεροῦ, καὶ πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς διεμαντεύοντο περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς. ἀνελόντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἓνα τῶν ὑφελομένων τὸ παλλάδιον φύλακα ποιεῖσθαι κατεσκεύασαν αὐτόθι τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τὸ ἡρώων, ἄλλως τε καὶ προσήκειν τῇ πόλει τὸν ἥρωα διὰ τὸν τῆς Πηνελόπης γάμον ὑπολαβόντες.

Why is there a heroon of Odysseus near the temple of the Leucippides at Sparta? Ergiaios, a descendant of Diomedes, stole the Palladion from Argos, at the suggestion of Temenos, with the knowledge and help of Leagros. This was a friend of Temenos. But later, Leagros, having become incensed at Temenos, went to Sparta carrying away the Palladion. The kings, receiving it eagerly, placed it by the temple of the Leucippides and sent ambassadors to Delphi to ask the oracle about its safety and protection. Since the god replied that one of those who had made away with the Palladion should guard it, they built a heroon of Odysseus there, especially since they supposed that the hero was close to the city because of his marriage to Penelope.

14. Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 15.3

Ἐγάμουν δὲ δι' ἄρπαγῆς, οὐ μικρὰς οὐδὲ ἁώρους πρὸς γάμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκμαζούσας καὶ πεπείρους. τὴν δὲ ἄρπασθεῖσαν ἢ νυμφεύτρια καλουμένη παραλαβοῦσα, τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν χρῶ περιέκειρεν, ἱματίῳ δὲ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ ὑποδήμασιν ἐνσκευάσασα κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ στιβάδα μόνην ἄνευ φωτός.

They marry by abduction, not when they are young or unready for marriage, but when they are in full bloom and ripe. The so-called nymphetria takes the abducted woman into custody, shaves her head and lies her down on a bed of straw, alone, in the dark, after dressing her in a men's cloak and sandals.

15. Pausanias 1.18.1.

τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον, αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοί σφισιν ἐφ' ἵππων. ἐνταῦθα Πολύγνωτος μὲν ἔχοντα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔγραψε γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν Λευκίππου, Μίκων δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Ἰάσονος ἐς Κόλχους πλεύσαντας· καὶ οἱ τῆς γραφῆς ἢ σπουδὴ μάλιστα ἐς Ἀκάστον καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχει τοὺς Ἀκάστου.

The sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient; they are depicted as standing and their sons as sitting on horses. There, Polygnotos painted the wedding of the daughters of Leucippus to them, while Mycon depicted those who sailed with Jason to Colchis, and he focused his attention particularly on Acastus and Acastus' horses.

16. Pausanias 2.22.5

Προελθόντι δὲ οὐ πολὺ τάφος ἐστὶν Ἄργου Διὸς εἶναι δοκοῦντος καὶ τῆς Φορωνέως Νιόβης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διοσκούρων ναός. Ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ παῖδές εἰσιν Ἄναξις καὶ Μνασίνοος, σὺν δὲ σφισιν αἱ μητέρες Ἰλάειρα καὶ Φοίβη, τέχνη μὲν Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, ξύλου δὲ ἐβένου· τοῖς δ' ἵπποις τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐβένου καὶ τούτοις, ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ ἐλέφαντος πεποίηται.

Not much farther, there is the tomb of Argos, believed to be the son of Zeus and Niobe, daughter of Phoroneus; after this, there is the temple of the Dioscuri. The statues represent themselves and their sons Anaxis and Mnasinous, and with them their mothers Hilaeira and Phoibe. They are the work of Diponos and Skyllis and are of ebony wood. Also the horses are mostly made of ebony, but there is also some ivory.

17. Pausanias 3.13.7

ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἢ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναός, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενός ἐστιν ἥρωος, ὃν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐς Σπάρτην Διονύσῳ φασι γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα· τῷ δὲ ἥρῳι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιππίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἑνδεκα ἃς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα· δρᾶν δὲ οὕτω σφίσιν ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.

Right opposite there is a place called Kolona and a sanctuary of Dionysus Kolonata, by which there is a precinct of the hero who is said to have led Dionysus to Sparta. The Dionysiades and the Leucippides offer sacrifices to this hero before the god. For the other eleven girls who are also called Dionysiades, they organise a footrace; this custom came to them from Delphi.

18. Pausanias 3.16.1-4

1. πλησίον δὲ Ἰλαείρας καὶ Φοίβης ἐστὶν ἱερόν· ὁ δὲ ποιήσας τὰ ἔπη τὰ Κύπρια θυγατέρας αὐτὰς Ἀπόλλωνός φησιν εἶναι. κόραι δὲ ἱερῶνται σφισι παρθένοι, καλούμεναι κατὰ ταῦτα ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ αὗται Λευκιππίδες. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἕτερον τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱερασαμένη τις ταῖς θεαῖς Λευκιππίς ἐπεκόσμησε, πρόσωπον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ποιησαμένη τῆς ἐφ' ἡμῶν τέχνης τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μὴ καὶ τοῦτο ἐπικοσμεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπεν ὄνειρον. ἐνταῦθα ἀπήρηται ὦν τοῦ ὀρόφου κατελιγμένον ταινίαις· εἶναι δὲ φασι ὦν ἐκεῖνο ὃ τεκεῖν Λήδαν ἔχει λόγος.
2. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῷ ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, καὶ τὸ οἶκημα ἔνθα ὑφαίνουσι Χιτῶνα ὀνομάζουσιν. οἰκία δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποιήται πλησίον· τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φασι αὐτὴν οἰκῆσαι τοὺς Τυνδάρεω παῖδας, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐκτήσατο Φορμίων Σπαρτιάτης. παρὰ τοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Διόσκουροι ξένοις ἀνδράσιν ἐοικότες· ἦκειν δὲ ἐκ Κυρήνης φήσαντες καταχθῆναι τε ἡξίουσαν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἶκημα ἡτοῦντο ὃ μάλιστα ἔχαιρον, ἡνίκα μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἦσαν.
3. ὁ δὲ οἰκίας μὲν τῆς ἄλλης ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ἔνθα ἂν ἐθέλωσιν οἰκῆσαι, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα οὐκ ἔφη δώσειν· θυγάτηρ γὰρ ἔτυχεν οἱ παρθένος ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ δίαίταν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ὕστεραίαν παρθένος μὲν ἐκείνη καὶ θεραπεία πᾶσα ἢ περὶ τὴν παῖδα ἠφάνιστο, Διοσκούρων δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι εὐρέθη καὶ τράπεζά τε καὶ σίλφιον ἐπ' αὐτῇ.
4. τάδε μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσιν· ἰόντι δὲ ὥς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπὸ τοῦ Χιτῶνος Χίλωνός ἐστιν ἡρώον τοῦ σοφοῦ νομιζομένου καὶ Ἀθηνοδώρου τῶν ὁμοῦ Δωριεῖ τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδου σταλέντων ἐς Σικελίαν [...]

1. Near, there is the sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoibe. The poet of the *Cypria* says that they are daughters of Apollo. Their priestesses are maidens, also themselves called Leucippides, as the goddesses. One Leucippid who served the goddesses as priestess embellished one of the two statues, giving it a face of modern craftsmanship instead of the old one, but a dream enjoined her not to also embellish the other. There, an egg is hung from the ceilings by ribbons; they say it is the famous egg that the legend tells that Leda laid.
2. Every year, the women weave a chiton for Apollo of Amyklai, and the room (building?) in which they weave is called Chiton. Near it is built a house; it is

said that, originally, the sons of Tyndareus inhabited it but, long after, the Spartan Phormion bought it. The Dioscuri came to him in the likeness of strangers; saying that they had arrived from Cyrene, they required to lodge with him and asked for the room that they liked the most at the time when they were among men.

3. He urged them to settle wherever they may wish in the rest of the house, but he said he would not give them the room; for his maiden daughter happened to live in it. By the next day, that girl and all her attendants had disappeared, but statues of the Dioscuri were found in the room and a table and silphium upon it.

4. Thus they say these things happened; going from the Chiton towards the gates, there is a heroon of Chilon, who is considered a Sage, and of Athenodorus, one of those who set out to Sicily with Dorieus, son of Anaxandrides [...]

19. Pausanias 3.17.3

ἐπείργασται δὲ τῷ χαλκῷ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἄθλων Ἡρακλέους, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐθελοντῆς κατώρθωσε, Τυνδάρεω δὲ τῶν παίδων ἄλλα τε καὶ ἡ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων ἀρπαγὴ [...]

Many of Heracles' labours are wrought in bronze, and also many of the deeds he carried out voluntarily, and some deeds of the sons of Tyndareus and also the abduction of the daughters of Leucippus [...]

20. Pausanias 3.18.11

[...] παρέντι δὲ Ἡρακλέους μάχην πρὸς Θούριον τῶν γιγάντων καὶ Τυνδάρεω πρὸς Εὐρυτον, ἔστιν ἀρπαγὴ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων [...]

[...] Passing over Heracles' battle against Thourios, one of the giants, and of Tyndareus against Eurytos, there is the abduction of the Leucippides [...]

21. Pausanias 3.18.13

[...] Ἀναξίας δὲ καὶ Μνασίνους, τούτων μὲν ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενός ἐστιν ἑκάτερος, Μεγαπένθην δὲ τὸν Μενελάου καὶ Νικόστρατον ἵππος εἷς φέρων ἐστίν [...]

[...] Anaxias and Mnasinous are each sitting on their own horse, but there is a single horse carrying Megapenthes, the son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus. [...]

22. Pausanias 3.20.2

Θεράπνης δὲ οὐ πόρρω Φοιβαῖον καλούμενόν ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Διοσκούρων ναός· καὶ οἱ ἔφηβοι τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα [...]

Not far from Therapne, there is the so-called Phoibaion, in which there is a temple of the Dioscuri; there, the ephebes sacrifice to Enyalios [...]

23. Pausanias 4.31.9

[...] καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Μεσσηνίοις ἐστὶν ἅγιον καὶ Διοσκούρων ἀγάλματα φέροντες τὰς Λευκίππου· καί μοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ἐστὶν ἤδη δεδηλωμένα, ὥς οἱ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς Τυνδάρειοι παῖδας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίοις προσήκειν.

[...] And the Messenians have a holy sanctuary to Demeter and statues of the Dioscuri carrying the daughters of Leucippus; I have already explained in the previous chapters (3.26.3) that the Messenians maintain that the sons of Tyndareus belong to them and not to the Lacedaemonians.

24. Pausanias 4.31.11-12

11. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Μεσσήνης τῆς Τριόπα ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου Παρίου· γραφαὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ὀπισθεν αἱ βασιλεύσαντές εἰσι Μεσσήνης, πρὶν μὲν ἢ στόλον ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Δωριέων ἐς Πελοπόννησον Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες, κατελθόντων δὲ Ἡρακλειδῶν Κρεσφόντης ἐστίν, ἡγεμὼν καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Δωρικοῦ, τῶν δὲ οἰκησάντων ἐν Πύλῳ Νέστωρ καὶ Θρασυμήδης καὶ Ἀντίλοχος, προτετιμημένοι παίδων τῶν Νέστορος ἡλικία καὶ ἐπὶ Τροίαν μετεσχηκότες τῆς στρατείας.

12. Λεύκιππος τε Ἀφαρέως ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἰλάειρά ἐστι καὶ Φοίβη, σὺν δὲ σφισιν Ἀρσινόη. γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Ἀσκληπιός, Ἀρσινόης ὦν λόγῳ τῷ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ Μαχάων καὶ Ποδαλεῖριος, ὅτι ἔργου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλίῳ καὶ τούτοις μέτεστι. ταύτας τὰς γραφὰς ἔγραψεν Ὀμφαλίων, Νικίου τοῦ Νικομήδους μαθητής· οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ δουλεῦσαι παρὰ τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ παιδικὰ γενέσθαι φασὶν αὐτοῦ.

11. There is also a temple of Messene, daughter of Triopas, and a statue made of gold and Parian marble; at the back of the temple there are paintings of those who reigned over Messene, Aphareus and his sons before the Dorian expedition came to the Peloponnese while, after the arrival of the Heraclidae, there is Cresphontes, being himself a leader of the Dorians, and, of the inhabitants of Pylos, Nestor and Thrasymedes and Antilochus, preferred among Nestor's children because of their age and because they took part in the Trojan expedition. 12. There are also Leucippus, brother of Aphareus, and Hilaeira and Phoibe, and with them Arsinoe. Also Asclepius is depicted, being son of Arsinoe, according to the Messenian legend, and Machaon and Podaleirios, because they also took part in the venture to Troy. Omphalion, pupil of Nicias son of Nicomodes, painted those pictures; they also say that he was a slave of Nicias and his favourite.

25. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 2.36.2.

Ἴπποκόων τις ἐγένετο Λακεδαιμόνιος οὗ οἱ υἱοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς λεγόμενοι Ἴπποκοωντίδαι ἐφόνευσαν τὸν Λικυμνίου υἱὸν, Οἰωνὸν ὀνόματι, συνόντα τῷ Ἡρακεῖ, ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ πεφονεύσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κύνα αὐτῶν. καὶ δὴ ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ Ἡρακλῆς πόλεμον συγκροτεῖ κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιρεῖ. μέμνηται καὶ Εὐφορίων ἐν Θρακί τῶν Ἴπποκόωντος παίδων τῶν ἀντιμνηστήρων τῶν Διοσκούρων.

A certain Hippocoön was a Spartan, whose sons – called Hippocoontids after their father – killed the son of Licymnius, called Eonos, companion of Heracles, because they got angry for the killing of their dog by him, and Heracles, enraged with them, waged war against them and killed many. Also Euphorion in his Thracian man mentions the sons of Hippocoön, rivals in love of the Dioscuri.

26. Proclus, *Crestomathia* 1 (*Procli Cypriorum Enarratio*)

[...] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κάστωρ μετὰ Πολυδεύκουσ τὰς Ἴδα καὶ Λυγκέως βοῦς ὑφαιρούμενοι ἐφωράθησαν. καὶ Κάστωρ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἴδα ἀναιρεῖται, Λυγκεὺς δὲ καὶ Ἴδας ὑπὸ Πολυδεύκουσ. καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτοῖς ἑτερήμερον νέμει τὴν ἀθανασίαν. [...]

[...] Meanwhile, Castor and Polydeukes were caught while stealing Idas' and Lynceus' cattle. And Castor was killed by Idas, Lynceus and Idas by Polydeukes. And Zeus granted them immortality every other day. [...]

27. *IG* V.1.305 (Lakonike – Sparta – reign of Commodus)

Ἀγαθᾶ
Τύχα·
Μ(ᾶρκου) Αὐρ(ήλιου) Ζεύξιππου ὁ κ[αί]
Κλέανδρου Φιλομούσω, ἱε-
ρεὺρ Λευκιππίδων καὶ Τινδαρι-
δᾶν, βουαγὸρ μικκιχιδδομέ-
νων ἐπὶ πατρονόμῳ Πο(πλίῳ) Αἰλίου
Δαμοκρατίδα τῷ Ἀλκανδρίδα, ἀρ-
χιερέου τῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ τῶν
[θ]είων προγόνων ὡτῷ φιλο-
[καί]σαρου καὶ φιλοπάτριδος αἰφ-
[νίῳ] ἀγορανόμῳ πλειστονε[ίκῳ]
[παραδ]όξῳ καὶ ἀρίστῳ Ἑλλά[νων]
[νειακά]ρ κασσηρατόριν, [μῶαν, κε]-
[λέαν? Ἀρτ]έμιδι Βωρθέα ἀν-
[έθη]κεν.

Good fortune; Marcus Aurelius Zeuxippos also known as Cleandros son of Philomousos, priest of the Leucippides and of the Tindaridae, bouagos of the mikkichiddomenoi when Aeilius Damokratida of Alkandrida, high priest of Augustus and of the gods of his ancestors, devoted to Caesar and to the country, perpetual agoranomos, of many battles, illustrious and excellent among the Greeks, was patronomos, having won the hunt, musical and singing contests, dedicated [this] to Artemis Bortha (i.e. Orthia).

28. *Stephani in Rhetor. II 23.5 (Arist. 1397b 18-23)*

Καὶ εἰ μὴ Τυνδαρίδαι, οὐδ' Ἀλέξανδρος. Τυνδάρεως καὶ Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ Λεύκιππος ἀδελφοί. ὁ δὲ Λεύκιππος εἶχε θυγατέρας δύο, Φοίβην καὶ Ἰλάειραν, ἃς οἱ Διόσκουροι ἔτι παρθένους οὔσας ἐξήρπασαν. εἰ γοῦν μὴ οἱ Τυνδαρίδαι πρῶτοι περὶ τὰς ἐξαδέλφας αὐτῶν ἐμάνησαν, οὐδ' ἂν Ἀλέξανδρος περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀδελφήν. οὕτως ἐν τῷ γάμμα τὸ λεξικὸν τοῦ Ὀμήρου λέγει, εἰ καὶ ὁ Λυκόφρων ἄλλως λέγει περὶ τε τούτων ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἀφαρέως υἱῶν, Ἴδου καὶ Λυγκέως.

And if not the Tyndaridae, nor Alexander. Tyndareus, Aphareus and Leucippus were brothers, and Leucippus had two daughters, Phoibe and Hilaeira, whom the Dioscuri abducted when they were still girls. Then, if the Tyndaridae first were not mad with lust for their cousins, nor was Alexander for their sister. Thus says the *lexicon* of Homer on book 3, even though Lycophron says differently about them, but also about the sons of Aphareus, Idas and Lynceus.

29. *Tzetzēs ad Lycophronem, 511, 538, 540, 546-549*

(511) [...] Ἡ δὲ ἱστορία τοιάδε· Ὑακίνθου ἀδελφὸς Κυνόρτης. Κυνόρτου δὲ παῖς Περιήρης, οὗ καὶ Γοργοφόνης, τῆς Περσέως, κατὰ Στησίχορον, Τυνδάρεως, Ἰκάριος, Ἀφαρεὺς καὶ Λεύκιππος. Ἀφαρέως δὲ καὶ Ἀρήνης, τῆς Οἰβάλου, ἢ Ἄρνης τῆς Αἰόλου, Λυγκεὺς καὶ Ἴδας. Λευκίππου καὶ Φιλοδίκης, τῆς Ἰνάχου, Φοίβη καὶ Ἰλάειρα. Ἰκάρου ἢ Ἰκαρίου καὶ Περιβοίας τῆς Νηίδος υἱοὶ πέντε, καὶ ἡ Ὀδυσσέως γυνὴ Πενελόπη. Τυνδάρεω καὶ Λήδας Τιμάνδρα, ἣν Ἐχεμος ἔγημε, καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα. Κατὰ τινας δὲ καὶ Ἑλένη σὺν Κάστορι καὶ Πολυδεύκῃ· καθ' ἑτέρους δὲ οὗτοι Διὸς ὑπῆρχον, οἱ Φοίβην καὶ Ἰλάειραν ἀρπάσαντες ἔγημαν. Καὶ Πολυδεύκους μὲν καὶ Φοίβης γίνεται παῖς Μνησίλεως, ἢ Μνησίνοος, καὶ Ἀσίνεος· Κάστορος δὲ καὶ Ἰλάειρας Ἀνάγων, ἢ Ἀναξίς, καὶ Αὐλοθός. Ταύτας δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι οὗτοι ἀπὸ Μεσσηνίας ἀρπάσαντες, ἔγημαν. [...]

(511) [...] This is the story: Cynortes was the brother of Hyacinthus. Son of Cynortes was Perieres; according to Stesichorus, his and Gorgophone's – daughter of Perseus – sons were Tyndareus, Icarius, Aphareus and Leucippus. From Aphareus and Arene, daughter of Oibalus, or Arne, daughter of Eolus, Linceus and Idas were born. From Leucippus and Philodice, daughter of Inachus, Phoebe and Hilaeira. From Icarus or Icarius and Periboias, daughter of Neidus, five sons were born, and Odysseus' wife, Penelope. From Tyndareus and Leda,

Timandra, whom Echemus married, and Clytemnestra. According to some, also Helen with Castor and Polydeukes. According to the others, these came from Zeus, and they married Phoebe and Hilaeira, after abducting them. And sons of Polydeukes and Phoebe were Mnesileus, or Mnesinoos, and Asineus; of Castor and Hilaeira were Anagon, or Anaxis, and Aulothus. The Dioscuri themselves married these girls after abducting them from Messene. [...]

(538) Ὅστις Ζεὺς θήσει βαρὺν κολῶν καὶ θόρυβον ἐν μέσαις ταῖς λέσχαις καὶ ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους συντυχίαις, ὅταν ἐν τοῖς δόμοις δέξωνται οἱ δεινὰ καὶ ἀπόθητα μέλλοντες παθεῖν, ἥγουν οἱ Διόσκουροι, καὶ οἱ Ἀφάρεως παῖδες τὸν πλανήτην καὶ πλανώμενον ὀρθαγὴν καὶ ξένον (λέγει δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον) τὸν σίνιν καὶ βλαπτικὸν καταρρακτῆρα καὶ ἄετὸν (διὰ τὸ ἀρπακτικὸν) τὸν πικρόν. Οἱ μέλλοντες παθεῖν· Πότ' ἄν; ὅταν δέξωνται, ὡς εἶπον, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μειλίζωσί τε καὶ καταπραύνωσι τὸν ἀστεργῇ Κράγον, τὸν Δία, ἐν τε δαιτὶ καὶ θαλυσίαις λοιβαῖς. Ὅλον δὲ, ὅπερ φησὶ, τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι ὅταν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δέξηται ὁ Μενέλαος, τότε ἐνστήσεται ἀρχὴ τῆς ἔχθρας τῷ Ἴδῳ καὶ Λυγκεῖ, καὶ τοῖς Διοσκούροις, διὰ τὰς Λευκίππου θυγατέρας Φοίβην τε καὶ Ἰλάειραν, ἃς προκατεγγυηθείσας τοῖς Διοσκούροις ἀρπάσαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἴδαν, εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν. Καὶ τότε καὶ ἀρπάσαντος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἑλένην, οἱ Διόσκουροι οὐ δυνήσονται ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἴλιον, διὰ τὸν ἐπικείμενον αὐτοῖς πόλεμον.

(538) Zeus will place a grievous brawling and tumult in the middle of their discussion and their reciprocal circumstances, whenever those who were destined to suffer terrible and undesired pains, or rather the Dioscuri and the sons of Aphareus, welcomed at home the wandering and led astray Orthages, and the foreign plunderer (it means Alexander) and the hurtful down-swooping and the spiteful eagle (because of the abduction). They were destined to suffer; but when? Whenever they received Alexander, as I said, and they would sooth and appease the implacable Kragos, Zeus, in a banquet and libations of firstfruits. But everything he says is this: when Menelaus receives Alexander, then there will be the beginning of the conflict between Idas and Lynceus and the Dioscuri, because of the daughters of Leucippus, Phoibe and Hilaeira; since Idas abducted them, who were engaged to the Dioscuri, they came to battle. And then, when Alexander too abducts Helen, the Dioscuri will not be able to go to Ilium, because of the imminent war with them.

(540) Οἱ Αφάρεως παῖδες καὶ οἱ Διόσκουροι· ὅτε γὰρ ἐξένιζον οἱ Διόσκουροι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐκινήθη στάσις αὐτοῖς κατὰ Λυκόφρονα μὲν, διὰ τὰς Λευκίππου θυγατέρας Φοίβην καὶ Ἰλάειραν· κατ' ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς, ὡς ὀπισθεν εἶπον πλατυτέρως, ἔνεκα βοῶν. Οὕτω δὲ στασιαζόντων αὐτῶν, Ἀλέξανδρος ἀρπάσας τὴν Ἑλένην, ὡς οὗτος ὁ Λυκόφρων φησὶν, ὤχετο εἰς Τροίαν.

(540) The sons of Aphareus and the Dioscuri; for when the Dioscuri welcomed Alexander as a guest, a quarrel was set in motion between them, according to Lycophron, because of the daughters of Leucippus, Phoebe and Hilaeira; according to me and everyone else, as I quite largely said before, because of

some cattle. And while they were fighting, Alexander, having abducted Helen, went to Troy, as this Lycophron says.

(546-549) Καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ, οἱ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες, οἱ καὶ ἐξάδελφοι καλοῦνται. Ἦσαν δὲ ἐξάδελφοι οἱ Διόσκουροι, Ἴδας δὲ καὶ Λυγκεὺς, οὕτως· Τυνδάρεως, καὶ Ἀφαρεὺς, Λευκίππος τε καὶ Ἰκάριος, ἀδελφοὶ, υἱοὶ Οἰβάλου. Καὶ τούτων γίνονται παῖδες οὗτοι, Τυνδάρεω μὲν θέσει, φύσει δὲ Διὸς, οἱ Διόσκουροι, ἡγουν Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης· Ἀφαρέως δὲ, Ἴδας καὶ Λυγκεὺς· Λευκίππου δὲ, Φοίβη καὶ Ἰλάειρα. Ἡ σύνταξις δὲ οὕτως· Αὐθις δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦπίσω, ἢ αὐθις καὶ πάλιν μετὰ τὰς λοιδορίας, οἱ ἀντανέψιοι ἦτοι οἱ παῖδες τοῦ Ἀφαρέως, ἐναιχμάσουσι καὶ πολεμήσουσι τοὺς βαιοκλῶπας, τοὺς ἄρπαγὰς τε τῶν συγγόνων, ἦτοι τοὺς Διοσκούρους. διὰ τί δὲ αὐτοὺς πολεμήσουσι; χρήζοντες χραισμῆσαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἀνεψιαῖς ὄρνισι εἰς τοὺς γάμους διὰ δίκην τῆς ἀλφῆς καὶ τῆς ψηλαφήσεως τῆς ἄνευ ἔδνων καὶ προγαμιαίων δώρων. ὁ γὰρ Λυκόφρων οὕτω φησὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι· ὀνειδισθέντας γὰρ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀφαρέως παίδων ὥς μὴ δεδοκότας ἔδνα ὑπὲρ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων τοὺς δὲ βοῦς ἐλάσαι τοῦ Ἀφαρέως καὶ δοῦναι τῷ Λευκίππῳ, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος. Ληρεῖ δὲ ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ἱστορία, ὥς ὀπισθεν εἶπον· τότε γὰρ οἱ Διόσκουροι καὶ παῖδας εἶχον ἐκ τῶν Λευκίππου θυγατέρων, οὓς εἶπον. Καὶ τοῦτο κακόζηλον ὀνειδίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον περὶ ἔδνων· ἀλλὰ πάντως ὥς νεωστὶ τῶν χορῶν ἄρπαγειςδων ἄνευ ἔδνων τοῦτό φησι. Καὶ ἔστι προφανῶς ληρώδης ὁ λόγος· ἔδειξα γὰρ, ὅτι τότε καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶχον οἱ Διόσκουροι.

(546-549) Cousins, the children of brothers, who are also called ἐξάδελφοι. The Dioscuri, Idas and Lynceus were thus cousins. Tyndareus and Aphareus, Leucippus and Icarius were brothers, sons of Oibalus. And these were their sons, the Dioscuri, I mean Castor and Polydeukes, of Tyndareus by adoption, of Zeus by birth; on the other hand, Idas and Lynceus were sons of Aphareus; Phoebe and Hilaeira were daughters of Leucippus. The text goes like this: again and back, or again and for the second time, after the reproach, the cousins – the sons of Aphareus surely – will fight and attack the thieves and abductors – the Dioscuri surely – of their kinswomen. But why will they fight against them? Because they wanted to protect and help the bird-like cousins, Phoebe and Hilaeira, from the marriage, because of the just rules concerning the acquisition and contact with women, that had happened without wedding and engagement presents; for Lycophron says that the fight between them thus arose. He says that the Dioscuri were reproached by the sons of Aphareus for not having offered presents for the daughters of Leucippus. They stole some of Aphareus' cattle and gave it to Leucippus, whence came the fight against them. But he is talking nonsense, for the story is as I told before; for by then the Dioscuri even had children from the daughters of Leucippus, of which I have spoken. And they were reproached with this pretentiousness concerning the presents such a long time after; but he says that this certainly happened when the girls had just been abducted without presents. And his story is manifestly a nonsense; for I have shown that by then the Dioscuri even had children from them.

30. Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 2.48.686-716

Κάστορα Πολυδεύκη τε Τυνδάρεω τοὺς παῖδας,
ἔργῳ Διὸς τυγχάνοντας, μᾶλλον δὲ Πολυδεύκη,
πρὸς Ἀφάρεως γράφουσι παῖδας Λυγκέα, Ἴδαν,
περὶ Λευκίππου θυγατρῶν, Φοίβης καὶ Ἰλαείρας,
μάχην συνάψαι καρτερὰν τίνες αὐτὰς ἄν σχῶσι.
Περὶ δὲ τὸ Ταῦγετον γέγονε τὰ τῆς μάχης.
[...]

Τὸ δ' ἀληθέστερον ἐστὶν ὥς ἤδη σοι προέφην.
Τῆς ἱστορίας μέμνηται Λυκόφρων, Εὐριπίδης,
πάντες ἀπλῶς οἱ ποιηταὶ σὺν τῷ Ἀπολλοδώρῳ,
καὶ γε Στασίνοσ σὺν αὐτοῖς οὕτω τὰ ἔπη γράφων
ἡρωϊκοῖς ἐν ἔπεσι λέγων.

It is written that Castor and Polydeukes, the sons of Tyndareus, who happen to be born from Zeus' doing, or rather Polydeukes does, started a terrible battle against Aphareus' sons, Lynceus and Idas, for Leucippus' daughters, Phoebe and Hilaeira, if any of them should have them. The events concerning the battle happened around the Taygetos. [...] However, the truest version is the one I have already told. This story is remembered by Lycophron, Euripides, in short by all the poets with Apollodorus, and also Stasinus with others, who thus writes the epic and says in his heroic verses.

Latin sources

31. Ovid, *Fasti* 5.697-704

“Dic”, ego respondi, “causam mihi sideris huius”.
Causam facundo redditit ore deus:
“Abstulerant raptas Phoeben Phoebesque sororem
Tyndaridae fratres, hic eques, ille pugil.
Bella parant repetuntque suas et frater et Idas,
Leucippo fieri pactus uterque gener.
His amor ut repetant, illis ut reddere nolint
Suadet; et ex causa pugnat uterque pari.

“Tell me” I replied “the origin of this constellation”. The god, with an eloquent speech, explained its origin: “The brothers sons of Tyndareus - one a horseman, the other a boxer – had carried off and seized Phoibe and Phoibe's sister. Idas and his brother prepare for war and demand their brides-to-be back, since both of them had agreed with Leucippus to be his son-in-law. Love pushes one pair to demand the girls back, the other to refuse to return them; both pairs fight for a similar reason.

32. Hyginus, *Fabulae* 80

Idas et Lynceus Apharei filii ex Messenis habuerunt sponsas Phoeben et Hilairam Leucippi filias. Hae autem formosissimae uirgines cum essent et esset Phoebe sacerdos Mineruae, Hilaira Dianae, Castor et Pollux amore incensi eas rapuerunt. Illi amissis sponsis arma tulerunt, si possent eas recuperare. Castor Lynceum in proelio interfecit; Idas amisso fratre omisit bellum et sponsam, coepit fratrem sepelire.

Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus from Messene, were engaged to Phoebe and Hilaira, daughters of Leucippus. Since they were beautiful girls indeed, and Phoebe was a priestess of Minerva, Hilaira of Diana, Castor and Pollux, burning with love for them, abducted them. Having lost their brides-to-be, the Apharetidae took arms, in case they could recover them. Castor killed Lynceus in battle; Idas, having lost his brother, abandoned the fight and his betrothed and began to bury his brother.

33. Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 1.10.5

Castor et Pollux dum alienas sponsas rapiunt, esse gemini desierunt. Nam dolore iniuriae concitatus Idas alterum gladio transuerberauit. Et eosdem poetae alternis uiuere, alternis mori narrant, ut iam sint non deorum tantum, sed mortalium miserrimi, quibus semel mori non licet.

When Castor and Pollux abducted someone else's brides-to-be, they stopped being twins. For Idas, urged by the pain for their affront, pierced one with his sword. And the poets recount that one day they are alive, the other they are dead, so that they are the most wretched not only among the gods, but also among mortals, who are not allowed to die only once.

Appendix C – Catalogue of Visual Sources

Vases



Fig. 1) Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico 1027-1028. Photo: Museum website. Two Chalcidian black-figure fragments of a lid found in Reggio Calabria (Italy), 550-525 BC.

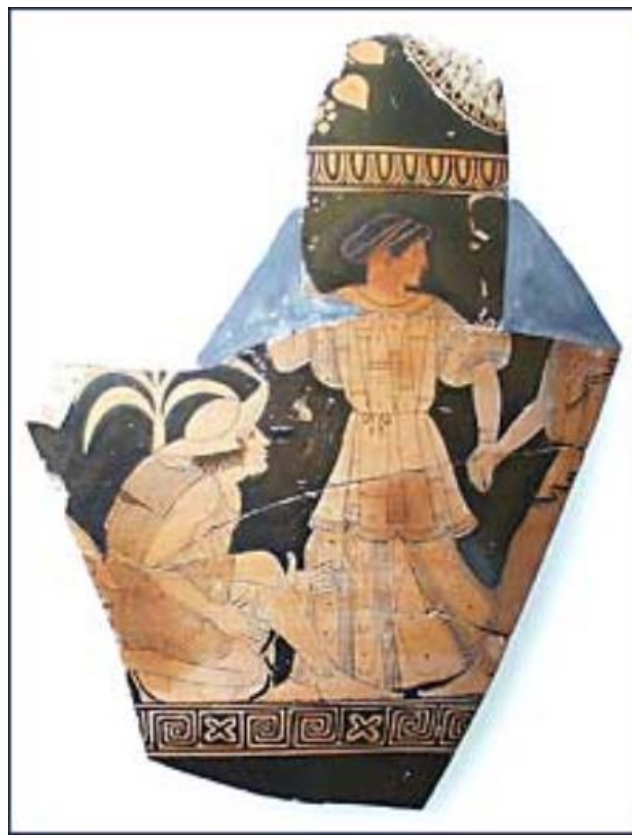


Fig. 2) Halle, Archäologisches Museum der Martin-Luther-Universität (Robertinum) 211. Photo: Museum website. Six fragments of an Athenian red-figure volute krater found in Ruvo (Italy), Niobid Painter, c. 460 BC.



Fig. 3) Athens, National Museum 2350. Photo: Museum website. Athenian white-ground bobbin found in Athens, Sotheby Painter, 460-450 BC.



Fig. 4) Lisbon, Museu C. Gulbenkian 682. Photo: Museum website. Athenian red-figure calyx krater found in Agrigento (Italy), Coghill Painter, c. 440 BC.



Fig. 5) Madrid, Archaeological Museum 11124. Photo: Museum website. Athenian red-figure hydria, group of Polygnotos, 475-425 BC.



Fig. 6) Ferrara, Museo Archeologico 44893. Photo: Cohen 2000, 80. Athenian red-figure calyx krater found in Spina (Italy), group of Polygnotos, 475-425 BC.



Fig. 7) Zurich, Prof. Mikro Ros collection 22. Photo: Beazley online 214563. Athenian red-figure neck amphora, Kassel Painter, 475-425 BC.



Fig. 8) Basel, Herbert Cahn collection 1607. Photo: Prange 1992, Tafel 1. Eight fragments of an Athenian red-figure vessel, Achilles Painter, c. 460 BC.



Fig. 9) St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum 757. Photo: *Monumenti inediti, pubblicati dall'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 6, 1857, tavola XII. Athenian red-figure hydria, group of Polygnotos, 475-425 BC.

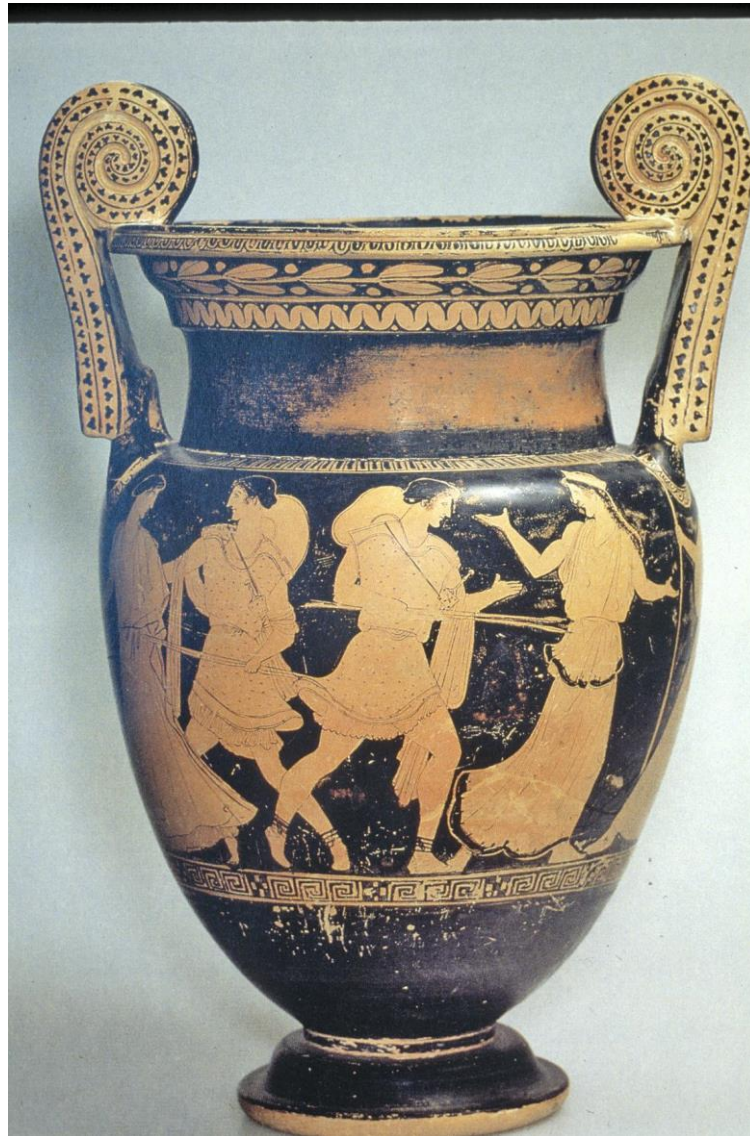


Fig. 10) Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 10600. Photo: Museum website.
Athenian red-figure volute krater, group of the Niobid Painter, 475-425 BC.



Fig. 11) Ferrara, Museo Archeologico 2810 (T. 1036). Photo: Digital LIMC 37360. Athenian red-figure column krater found in Spina (Italy), Painter of Munich 2335, 450-400 BC.



Fig. 12) London, British Museum E 224. Photo: Beazley online 220497. Athenian red-figure hydria, Meidias Painter, 450-400 BC.

No picture is available for fig. 13) Rome, market. Beazley online 216254. Athenian red-figure cup, Marlay Painter, 450-400 BC.



Fig. 14) Ruvo, Museo Jatta 1096. Photo: Biscotto 2010, 532. Apulian red-figure volute krater found in Ruvo (Italy), Sisyphus Painter, end of fifth century BC.

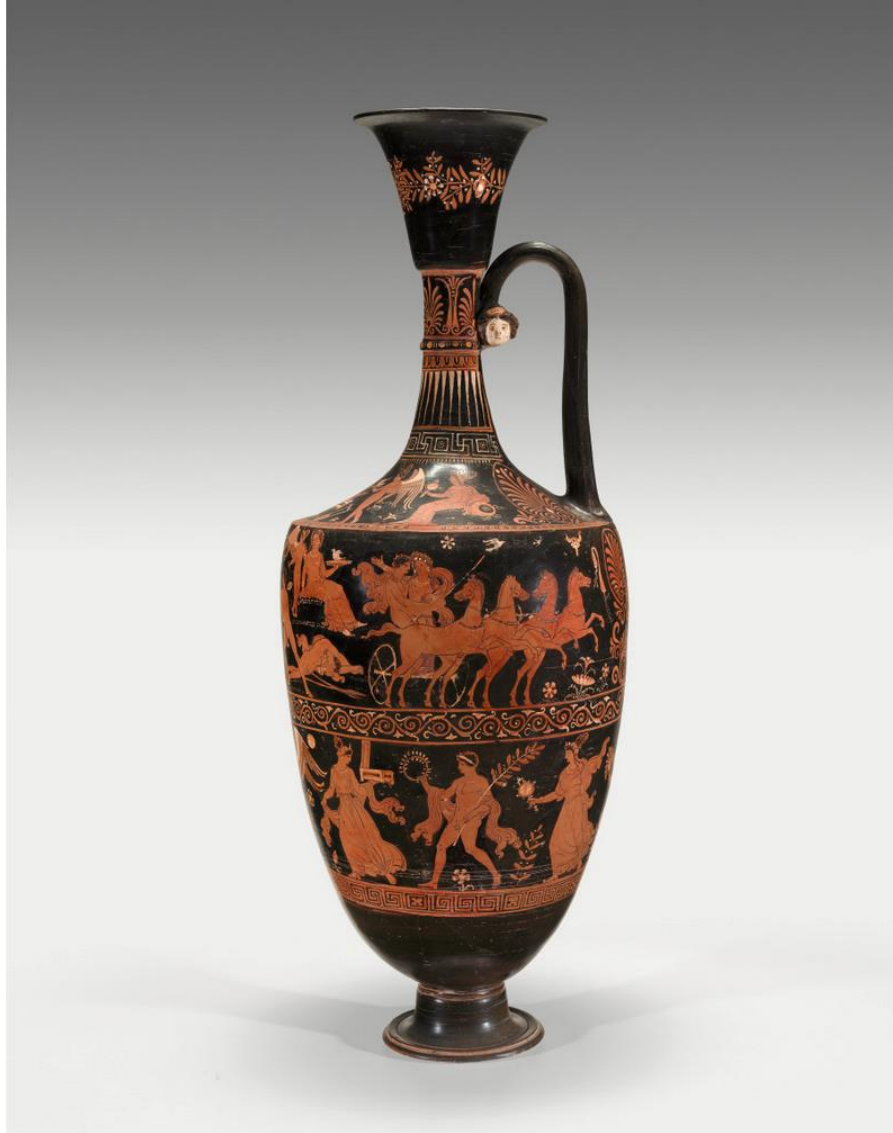


Fig. 15) Richmond, Virginia Museum 80, 162. Photo: Museum website. Apulian red-figure lekythos, Underworld Painter, 350-340 BC.

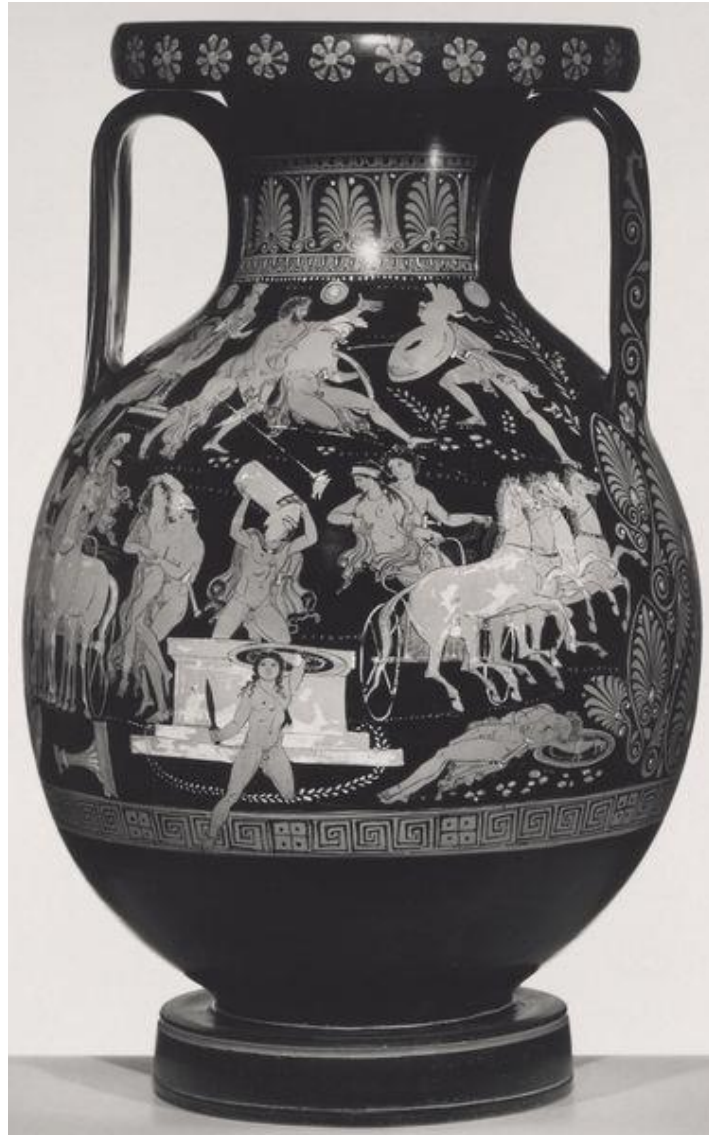


Fig. 16) Basel, market. Photo: Digital LIMC 4138. Apulian red-figure pelike, 350-335 BC.



Fig. 17) Basel, Herbert Cahn collection 1325. Photo: Cambitoglou and Chamay 1997, 215. Fragment of an Athenian red-figure vessel, group of the Darius Painter, 345-335 BC.



Fig. 18) Athens, Kerameikos 2712. Photo: by the author. Athenian red-figure hydria, Meidias Painter, end of fifth century.



Fig. 19) Reggio Calabria, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, “lastra Griso Labocchetta”. 525-500 BC. Terracotta. Photo: Museum website.

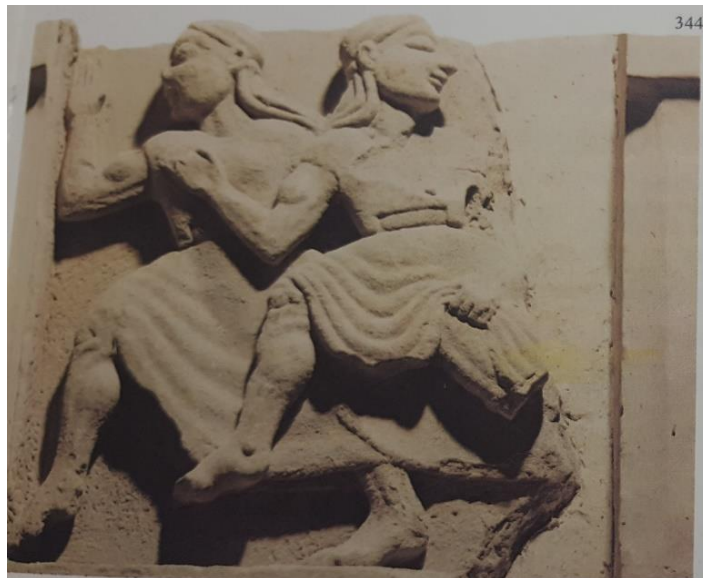


Fig. 20 and 21) Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Paestum, Heraion of Foce del Sele. Second half of the sixth century BC. Sandstone. Photo: Pugliese Carratelli *et al.* 1983, pictures 344-345.



Fig. 22) Delphi Archaeological Museum, Siphnian Treasury, block K. c. 525 BC. Marble. Photo: by the author.



Fig. 23) Delphi Archaeological Museum, Siphnian Treasury, block L. c. 525 BC. Marble. Photo: by the author.



Fig. 24) Delphi Archaeological Museum, Siphnian Treasury, block M. c. 525 BC. Marble. Photo: by the author.



Fig. 25) Delphi Archaeological Museum, Siphnian Treasury, block N. c. 525 BC. Marble. Photo: by the author.



Fig. 26) Delphi Archaeological Museum, Siphnian Treasury, block O. c. 525 BC. Marble. Photo: by the author.



Fig. 27) Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Heroon of Trysa, Lycia. c. 380 BC. Limestone. Photo: Digital LIMC 2899.



Fig. 28) Taranto, Museo Nazionale 123. 325-280 BC. Limestone. Photo: Carter 1975, plate 13c.



Fig. 29) Basel, Art market (1954). Undated. Limestone. Photo: Carter 1975, plate 45c.



Fig. 30) Taranto, Museo Nazionale 138. Undated. Limestone. Photo: Carter 1975, plate 45d.



Fig. 31) Taranto, Museo Nazionale 4130. Fourth century BC. Terracotta. Photo: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, Tav. XCVII.



Fig. 32) Taranto, Museo Nazionale 6091. Fourth century BC. Terracotta. Photo: Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli 1977, Tav. XCVIII.

Bibliography

- Allan, W. (2008) *Euripides. Helen*, Cambridge.
- Almazova, N. (2015) 'De curribus Hyacinthiorum sacris adhibitis (Athen. 4.139F)', *Hermes*, 143 (4), pp. 508-512.
- Aloni, A. and Iannucci, A. (2007) *L'elegia greca e l'epigramma dalle origini al V secolo. Con un'appendice sulla 'nuova' elegia di Archiloco*, Firenze.
- Amandry, P. (1980) 'Sur les concours argiens', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 6 (1), pp. 211-253.
- Andò, V. (1996) 'Nymphe: la sposa e le Ninfe', *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, New Series, 52 (1), pp. 47-79.
- Antonaccio, C.M. (1995) *An Archaeology of Ancestors. Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*, Lanham.
- Antonaccio, C.M. (2005) 'Dedications and the Character of Cult', in Hägg, R. and Alroth, B. (eds.) *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian. Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25-27 April 1997*, Stockholm, pp. 99-112.
- Arafat, K.W. (1997) 'State of the Art – Art of the State. Sexual violence and politics in late Archaic and early Classical vase-painting' in Deacy, S. and Pierce, K. F. (eds.) *Rape in Antiquity*, London, pp. 97-121.
- Ardovino, A.M. (1986) *I culti di Paestum antica e del suo territorio*, Salerno.
- Arias, P.E. (1958) 'Cratere attico da Spina con Gigantomachia e ratto delle Leucippidi', *Arte antica e moderna*, pp. 3-10.
- Arnott, W.G. (1996) 'The Preoccupations of Theocritus: Structure, Illusive Realism, Allusive Learning', in Harder, M.A., Regtuit, R.F. and Wakker, G.C. (eds.) *Theocritus*, Groningen, pp. 55-70.
- Audley-Miller, L. and Dignas, B. (2018) *Wandering Myths. Transcultural Uses of Myth in the Ancient World*, Berlin.
- Avagianou, A. (1991) *Sacred Marriage in the Rituals of Greek Religion*, Bern.

- Banaka-Dimaki, A. (2002) 'Cult places in Argos', in Hägg, R., *Peloponnesian sanctuaries and cults. Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 11-13 June 1994*, pp. 107-116.
- Barra Bagnasco, M. (2009) *Locri Epizefiri. V. Terrecotte figurate dall'abitato*, Alessandria.
- Barnabei, F. (1886) 'Reggio di Calabria', *Notizie degli scavi di antichità comunicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei*, Luglio 1886, pp. 241-245.
- Barringer, J.M. (1991) 'Europa and the Nereids: Wedding or Funeral?', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 95 (4), pp. 657-667.
- Barringer, J.M. (1994) 'Mythological Paintings in the Macellum at Pompeii', *Classical Antiquity*, 13 (2), pp. 149-166.
- Barringer, J.M. (1995) *Divine escorts: Nereids in archaic and classical Greek art*, University of Michigan.
- Barringer, J.M. (1996) 'Atalanta as Model: The Hunter and the Hunted', *Classical Antiquity*, 15 (1), pp. 48-76.
- Barringer, J.M. (2001) *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore.
- Barringer, J.M. (2004) 'Skythian Hunters on Attic Vases', in Marconi, C. (ed.) *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies. Proceedings of the Conference sponsored by The Center for the Ancient Mediterranean at Columbia University, 23-24 March 2002*, pp. 13-25.
- Barringer, J.M. (2013) 'Hunters and Hunting on the François Vase', in Shapiro, H.A., Iozzo M. and Lezzi-Hafter, A., *The François Vase: New Perspectives*, Kilchberg/Zurich, pp. 153-167.
- Barringer, J.M. (2016) 'The Shefton Dolphin Rider', in Boardman, J., Parkin, A. and Waite, S. (eds.) *On the Fascination of Objects. Greek and Etruscan Art in the Shefton Collection*, Oxford and Philadelphia, pp. 117-129.
- Battezzato, L. (2013) 'Dithyramb and Greek Tragedy', in Kowalzig, B. and Wilson, P. (eds.) *Dithyramb in Context*, Oxford, pp. 93-110.
- Beazley, J.D. (1963) *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Volume II, Oxford.
- Bérard, C. (1989) 'The Order of Women' in Bérard, C., et al. (1989) *A City of Images. Iconography and society in Ancient Greece*. Princeton, pp. 89-105.
- Bergk, T. (1865) 'Alkmans hymnus auf die Dioskuren', *Philologus-Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption*, 22 (1-4), pp. 1-16.

- Berti, F. and Guzzo, P.G. (1993) *Spina: storia di una città tra greci ed etruschi*, Ferrara.
- Bertini, F. (1970) 'L'εἰδωλον di Elena', *Mythos. Scripta in honorem Marii Untersteiner*, Genova, pp. 81-96.
- Bianchi, U. (1979) 'I Dioscuri: una versione della coppia divina', in *Il senso del culto dei Dioscuri in Italia. Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Taranto nell'aprile del 1979*, pp. 23-40.
- Biscotto, V. (2010) 'L'immagine dei Dioscuri nella ceramografia apula', *Archeologia classica. Rivista del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità*, N.S. 11, pp. 525-546.
- Blondell, R. (2013) *Helen of Troy. Beauty, Myth, Devastation*, Oxford.
- Blok, J.H. (1995) *The Early Amazons. Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden-New York-Köln.
- Boardman, J. (1979) *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period. A Handbook*, Oxford.
- Bobou, O. (2013) 'Emotionality in Greek Art', in Chaniotis, A. and Ducrey, P. (2013) *Unveiling Emotions II. Emotions in Greece and Rome: Texts, Images, Material Culture*, Stuttgart, pp. 273-311.
- Bodson, L. (1978) *Ἐπὶ ζῶα: contribution à l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Paris.
- Bogino, L. (1991) 'Note sul matrimonio a Sparta', *Sileno*, 17, pp. 221-233.
- Bölte, F. (1929) 'Zu Lakonischen Festen', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 78 (2), pp. 124-143.
- Bommelaer, J.-F. (1991) *Guide de Delphes. Le site*, Paris.
- Bonanno Aravantinos, M. (1994) 'L'iconografia dei Dioscuri in Grecia', in Nista, L. (ed.) *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma*, Roma, pp. 9-25.
- Bottini, A. (1994) 'I Dioscuri e il mito: la nascita di Elena tra Atene e Occidente', in Nista, L. (ed.) *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma*, Roma, pp. 33-37.
- Bourguet, E. (1927) *Le dialecte laconien*, Paris.
- des Bouvrie, S. (2002) *The Definition of Myth. Symbolical Phenomena in Ancient Culture*, Athens.

- Bowra, C.M. (1934) 'The Occasion of Alcman's Partheneion', *The Classical Quarterly*, 28 (01), pp. 35-44.
- Bowra, C.M. (1961) *Greek Lyric Poetry: From Alcman to Simonides*, Oxford.
- Bragantini, I. (2014) 'Roman Painting in the Republic and Early Empire', in Pollitt, J. J. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Painting in the Classical World*, Cambridge, pp. 302-369.
- Brauer, G.C. Jr. (1986) *Taras. Its History and Coinage*, New York.
- Bravo, J. (2004) 'Heroic Epiphanies: Narrative, Visual, and Cultic Contexts', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 29, pp. 63-84.
- Brelich, A. (1969) *Paides e parthenoi*, Roma.
- Bremmer, J.N. (1987) *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, London.
- Bremmer, J.N. (1994) *Greek Religion*, Oxford.
- Bremmer, J.N. (1997) 'Myth as Propaganda: Athens and Sparta', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 117, pp. 9-17.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2005) 'Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship', in von Haehling, R. (ed.) *Griechische Mythologie und Frühchristentum*, Darmstadt, pp. 21-43.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2009) 'Myth, Mythology, and Mythography', in Graziosi, B., Vasunia, P. and Boys-Stones, G. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, Oxford, pp. 679-687.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2011a) 'Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries: a "Thin" Description', in Bull, C.H., Lied, L. and Turner, J.D. (eds.) *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices: Studies for Einar Thomassen at Sixty*, Leiden, pp. 375-397.
- Bremmer, J.N. (2011b) 'A Brief History of the Study of Greek Mythology' in Dowden, K. and Livingstone, N. (eds.) *A Companion to Greek Mythology*, Hoboken, pp. 527-547.
- Brillante, C. (1990) 'History and the Historical Interpretation of Myth', in Edmunds, L. (ed.) (2014) *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore, pp. 93-138.
- Brinkmann, V. (1994) *Beobachtungen zum formalen Aufbau und zum Sinngehalt der Friese des Siphnierschatzhauses*, München.
- Brommer, F. (1982) *Theseus. Die Taten des griechischen Helden in der antiken Kunst und Literatur*, Darmstadt.

- Bron, C. and Lissarrague, F. (1989) 'Looking at the Vase', in Bérard, C., et al. (1989) *A City of Images. Iconography and society in Ancient Greece*. Princeton, pp. 11-21.
- Brulé, P. (1987) *La fille d'Athènes. La religion des filles à Athènes à l'époque classique. Mythes, cultes et société*, Paris.
- Bulloch, A.W. (2010) 'Hymns and Encomia', in Clauss, J.J. and Cuypers, M. (eds.) *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, Hoboken, pp. 166-180.
- Burkert, W. (1987) 'Oriental and Greek Mythology: The Meeting of Parallels', in Bremmer, J. (ed.) *Interpretation of Greek Mythology*, Worchester.
- Burkert, W. (1990) 'Ein Datum für Euripides' Elektra: Dionysia 40 v. Chr.', *Museum Helveticum*, 47, 2, pp. 65-69.
- Burn, L. (1987) *The Meidias Painter*, Oxford.
- Burton, J.B. (2000) 'Abduction and Elopement in the Byzantine Novel', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 41, pp. 377-409.
- Buxton, R. (1994) *Imaginary Greece. The Context of Mythology*, Cambridge.
- Cairns, D.L. (1993) *Aidōs. The Psychology and Ethics of Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Literature*, Oxford.
- Cairns, D.L. (1996) 'Veiling, αἰδώς, and a red-figure amphora by Phintias', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 116, pp. 152-158.
- Cairns, D.L. (2001) 'Anger and the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture', *Greece & Rome*, 48 (1), pp. 18-32.
- Cairns, D.L. (2002) 'The Meaning of the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture', in Llewellyn-Jones, L. (ed.) *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World*, Swansea, pp. 73-93.
- Cairns, D.L. (2016) *Sophocles: Antigone*, London.
- Calame, C. (1977a) *Les Chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque: morphologie, fonction religieuse et sociale*, Roma.
- Calame, C. (1977b) *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque: Alcman*, Roma.
- Calame, C. (1983) *Alcman. Introduction, texte critique, témoignages, traduction et commentaire*, Roma.

- Calame, C. (1987) 'Spartan Genealogies: The Mythological Representation of a Spatial Organisation' (trans. by Habib, A.), in Bremmer, J. (ed.) *Interpretation of Greek Mythology*, Worchester.
- Calame, C. (1990) 'Narrating the Foundation of a City: The Symbolic Birth of Cyrene', in Edmunds, L. (ed.) (2014) *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore, pp. 277-341.
- Calame, C. (1991) 'The Cult of Helen and the Tribal Initiation of Women in Greece', in Bonnefoy, Y. and Doniger, W., *Mythologies*, Chicago.
- Calame, C. (1996a) *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien. Légende et culte en Grèce antique*, Lausanne.
- Calame, C. (1996b) *Myth et histoire dans l'Antiquité grecque: la création symbolique d'une colonie*, Lausanne, transl. Berman, D.W. (2003) *Myth and History in Ancient Greece. The Symbolic Creation of a Colony*, Princeton.
- Calame, C. (2007) 'Greek Myth and Greek Religion', in Woodard, R.D. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, Cambridge, pp. 259-285.
- Calame, C. (2011) 'Myth and Performance on the Athenian Stage: Praxithea, Erectheus, their Daughters, and the Etiology of Autochthony', *Classical Philology*, 106 (1), pp. 1-19.
- Calame, C. (2013) 'The Dithyramb, a Dionysiac Poetic Form. Genre Rules and Cultic Context', in Kowalzig, B. and Wilson, P. (eds.) *Dithyramb in Context*, Oxford, pp. 332-352.
- Calligas, P.G. (1992) 'From the Amyklaion', in Sanders, J.M. (ed.) *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London, pp. 31-48.
- Cambitoglou, A. and Chamay, J. (1997) *Céramique de Grande Grèce. La collection de fragments Herbert A. Cahn*, Hellas et Roma.
- Cameron, A. (1995) *Callimachus and his Critics*, Princeton.
- Cameron, A. (2004) *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, Oxford.
- Camponetti, G. (2007) 'L'hydria londinese di Meidias: mito e attualità storica ad Atene durante la Guerra del Peloponneso', in Angiolillo, S. and Giunari, M. (eds.) *Il vasaio e le sue storie. Giornata di studi sulla ceramica attica in onore di Mario Torelli per i suoi settanta anni*, Cagliari, pp. 17-45.
- Carey, C. (2011) 'Alcman: from Laconia to Alexandria', in Athanassaki, L. and Bowie, E. (eds.) *Archaic and Classical Choral Song: Performance, Politics and Dissemination*, Berlin, pp. 437-460.

- Carter, J.B. (1988) 'Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta', in Hägg, R., Marinatos, N. and Nordquist, G. C. (edd.), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June 1986*, Stockholm, pp. 89-98.
- Carter, J.C. (1975) *The Sculpture of Taras*, Philadelphia.
- Cartledge, P. (1981) 'Spartan Wives: Liberation or Licence? ', *Classical Quarterly*, 31 (1), pp. 84-105.
- Casey, E. (2013) 'Educating the Youth: The Athenian Ephebeia in the Early Hellenistic Era', in Evans Grubbs, J. and Parkin, T. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford, pp. 418-443.
- Cavaliere, M. (1998-1999) 'Coroplastica della Magna Grecia: i recumbenti. I casi di Taranto, di Locri e Medma', *Klearchos. Bollettino dell'Associazione amici del Museo nazionale di Reggio Calabria*, 157-164, pp. 61-91.
- Chapoutier, F. (1935) *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse: étude d'iconographie religieuse*, Paris.
- Charbonneaux, J. et al. (1969) *Grèce Classique*, Paris.
- 'Chronique des fouilles en Grèce en 1955 (pl. VI-VIII)', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 80, 1956, pp. 219-432.
- Ciaceri, E. (1901) *La Alessandra di Licofrone. Testo, traduzione e commento*, Catania.
- Ciampa, S. (2015) 'La contesa tra i Dioscuri e gli Afaridi: Teocrito e Licofrone a confronto', *Atene e Roma*, 9 (3-4), pp. 163-174.
- Cingano, E. (2011) 'Aporie, parallelismi, riprese e convergenze: la costruzione del ciclo epico' in Aloni, A. and Ornaghi, M., *Tra panellenismo e tradizioni locali. Nuovi contributi*, Messina, pp. 3-26.
- Clader, L.L. (1976) *Helen. The Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition*, Leiden.
- Clark, A.J., Elston, M. and Hart, M.L. (2002) *Understanding Greek Vases. A Guide to Terms, Styles, and Techniques*, Los Angeles.
- Clay, D. (1991) 'Alcman's "Partheneion"', *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*, New Series, 39 (3), pp. 47-67.
- Clinton, K. (2010) 'The Mysteries of Demeter and Kore', in Ogden, D. (ed.) *A Companion to Greek Religion*, Oxford, pp. 342-356.

- Cohen, A. (1996) 'Portrayals of Abduction in Greek Art. Rape or Metaphor?', in Kampen, N.B. *Sexuality in Ancient Art. Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, Cambridge, pp. 117-135.
- Cohen, A. (2007) 'Gendering the Age Gap: Boys, Girls, and Abduction in Ancient Greek Art', *Hesperia Supplements*, 41, pp. 257-278.
- Cohen, A. (2010) *Art in the Era of Alexander the Great. Paradigms of Manhood and Their Cultural Traditions*, Cambridge.
- Cohen, B. (2000) *Not the Classical Idea: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden.
- Cohen, D. (1993) 'Consent and Sexual Relations in Classical Athens' in Laiou, A.E., *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, Harvard, pp. 5-16.
- Coldstream, J.N. (2003) *Geometric Greece. 900-700 BC. Second Edition.*, London and New York.
- Cole, S.G. (1984) 'The Social Function of the Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and the Arkteia', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 55, pp. 233-244.
- Cole, S.G. (2004) *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience*, Berkeley.
- Van Compernelle, R. (1976) 'Le tradizioni sulla fondazione e sulla storia arcaica di Locri Epizefiri e la propaganda politica alla fine del V e nel IV secolo av. Cr.', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Serie III, 6 (2), pp. 329-400.
- Conde, M. M. (2008) *Regards sur la religion laconienne: les Hyacinthia à la lumière des textes et de l'archéologie*, Madrid.
- Connelly, J.B. (1993) 'Narrative and Image in Attic Vase Painting. Ajax and Cassandra at the Trojan Palladion', in Holliday, P.J. (ed.) *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art*, Cambridge, pp. 88-129.
- Connelly, J.B. (2007) *Portrait of a Priestess*, Princeton and Oxford.
- Constantinidou, S. (1998) 'Dionysiac elements in Spartan cult dances', *Phoenix*, 52 (1-2), pp. 15-30.
- Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes* (1977), Paris.

- Costabile, F. (1979) 'Il culto di Apollo quale testimonianza della tradizione corale e religiosa di Reggio e Messina', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*, 91 (2), pp. 525-545.
- Costabile, F. (1995) 'Le statue frontonali del tempio Marasà a Locri Epizefiri', *Mitteilungen des deutschen archaologischen Instituts roemische Abteilung*, 102, pp. 9-62.
- Couelle, C. (1998) 'Dire en toutes lettres? Allusions et sous-entendus chez le peintre de Meidias', *Mètis. Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens*, 13, pp. 135-158.
- Csapo, E. (2005) *Theories of Mythology*, Oxford.
- Cuartero, F. J. (1972) 'La poética de Alcman', *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica*, 4, pp. 367-402.
- Cyrino, M. S. (2004) 'The Identity of the Goddess in Alcman's Louvre "Partheneion" (PMG 1)', *The Classical Journal*, 100 (1), pp. 25-38.
- D'Alessio, G. (2004) 'Argo e l'Argolide nei canti cultuali di Pindaro', in Bernardini, P.A. (ed.) *La città di Argo. Mito, storia, tradizioni poetiche. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Urbino, 13-15 giugno 2002)*, pp. 107-126.
- D'Alessio, G. (2013) 'The Name of the Dithyramb', in Kowalzig, B. and Wilson, P. (eds.) *Dithyramb in Context*, Oxford, pp. 113-132.
- D'Anna, G. (1979) 'Il ruolo di Taranto nella diffusione del culto dei Dioscuri in Italia', in *Il senso del culto dei Dioscuri in Italia. Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Taranto nell'aprile del 1979*, pp. 101-114.
- Dale, A. M. (1967) *Euripides. Helen*, Oxford.
- Dale, A. (2011) 'Topics in Alcman's Partheneion', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 176, pp. 24-38.
- Daux, G. and Hansen, E. (1987) *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome II. Topographie et Architecture. Le trésor de Siphnos*, Paris.
- Daux, G. and de La Coste-Messelière, P. (1927) 'La frise du trésor de Siphnos. Dimensions et composition', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 51, pp. 1-56.
- Davison, J. A. (1934) 'The Authorship of the 'Leucippides' Papyrus', *The Classical Review*, 48 (06), pp. 205-207.

- Davison, J. A. and Stanford, W. B. (1968) *From Archilochus to Pindar*, New York.
- De Bloois, N. (2010) 'Rape, Marriage, or Death? Gender Perspectives in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*', *Philological Quarterly*, 76 (3), pp. 245-262.
- Deacy, S. (2015) 'Gods – Olympian or Chthonian?', in Eidinow, E. and Kindt, J. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, Oxford, pp. 355-367.
- De Franciscis, A. (1979) *Il santuario di Marasà in Locri Epizefiri. I. Il tempio arcaico*, Napoli.
- Delivorrias, A. (2009) 'The throne of Apollo at the Amyklaion: old proposals, new perspectives', *British School at Athens Studies*, 16, pp. 133-135.
- Deschodt, G. (2011) 'Images et mariage, une question de méthode: le geste d'anakalypsis', *Cahiers "Mondes anciens"*, 2, pp. 1-15.
- Di Cesare, R. (2015) *La città di Cecrope. Ricerche sulla politica edilizia cimoniana ad Atene, Atene-Paestum*.
- Di Marzio, M. (2006) 'Bacchilide e Sparta: il fr. 20A Maehler', in Vetta, M. and Catenacci, C. (eds.) *I luoghi e la poesia nella Grecia antica. Atti del Convegno Università 'G. d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara 20-22 aprile 2004*, Alessandria, pp. 199-212.
- Dietrich, B. (1975) 'The Dorian Hyacinthia: A Survival from the Bronze Age', *Kadmos*, 14, pp. 133-142.
- Dimou, A. (2016) *La déesse Korè-Perséphone: mythe, culte et magie en Attique*, Turnhout.
- Dipla, A. (2017) 'The Private Spaces of Emotion: The Visual Evidence', in Chaniotis, A. (ed.) *A World of Emotions. Ancient Greece, 700 BC-200 AD*, New York, pp. 132-159.
- Dodd, D.B. (2003) 'Adolescent Initiation in Myth and Tragedy. Rethinking the Black Hunter', in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 71-84.
- Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A., eds. (2003) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York.
- Dodson-Robinson, E. (2010) 'Helen's "Judgment of Paris" and Greek Marriage Ritual in Sappho 16', *Arethusa*, 43 (1), pp. 1-20.
- Dougherty, C. (1993) *The Poetics of Colonization. From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, New York and Oxford.

- Dowden, K. (1989) *Death and the Maiden. Girls' Initiation Rites in Greek Mythology*, London and New York.
- Dowden, K. (1999) 'Fluctuating Meanings: "Passage Rites" in Ritual, Myth, *Odyssey*, and the Greek Romance', *Bucknell Review*, 43 (1), pp. 221-243.
- Dowden, K. (2002) *The Uses of Greek Mythology*, London and New York.
- Dowden, K. and Livingstone, N. (2011) 'Thinking through Myth, Thinking Myth Through' in Dowden, K. and Livingstone, N. (eds.) *A Companion to Greek Mythology*, Hoboken, pp. 4-23.
- Ducat, J. (1998) 'La femme de Sparte et la cité', *Ktéma: civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques*, 23, pp. 385-406.
- Dunbabin, T.J. (1948) *The Western Greeks. The History of Sicily and South Italy from the Foundation of the Hreek Colonies to 480 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Edmonds, R.G. III (2004) *Myths of the Underworld Journey. Plato, Aristophanes, and the "Orphic" Gold Tablets*, Cambridge.
- Edmunds, L. (2002) 'The Abduction of the Beautiful Wife: the Basic Story of the Trojan War', *Studia Philologica Valentina*, 6, pp. 1-36.
- Edmunds, L. (2007) 'Helen's Divine Origins', *Electronic Antiquity*, 10 (2), pp. 1-45.
- Edmunds, L. (2014) *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore.
- Edmunds, L. (2016) *Stealing Helen. The Myth of the Abducted Wife in Comparative Perspective*, Princeton.
- Effe, B. (1978) 'Die Destruktion der Tradition: Theokrits mythologische Gedichte', *Rhenisches Museum für Philologische, Neue Folge*, 121, 1, pp. 48-77.
- Eichler, F. (1950) *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, Wien.
- Ekroth, G. (2002) *The sacrificial rituals of Greek hero-cults in the Archaic to early Hellenistic periods*, Liège.
- Ekroth, G. (2007) 'The Importance of Sacrifice: New Approaches to Old Methods', *Kernos*, 20, pp. 387-399.
- Ekroth, G. (2010) 'Heroes and Hero-Cults', in Ogden, D. (ed.) *A companion to Greek Religion*, Oxford, pp. 100-114.
- Ekroth, G. (2015) 'Heroes – Living or Dead?', in Eidinow, E. and Kindt, J. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, Oxford, pp. 383-396.

- Evans-Grubbs, J. (1989) 'Abduction Marriage in Antiquity: A Law of Constantine (CTh IX. 24. I) and Its Social Context', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 79, pp. 59-83.
- Fantuzzi, M. and Hunter, R. (2005) *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*, Cambridge.
- Faraone, C.A. (1993) 'The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar Pythian 4.213-19', *The Classical Journal*, 89 (1), pp. 1-19.
- Faraone, C.A. (2003) 'Playing the Bear and Fawn for Artemis. Female Initiation or Substitute Sacrifice?' in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 43-68.
- Farnell, L.R. (1921) *Greek hero cults and ideas of immortality*, Oxford
- Farnell, L.R. (1961) *Critical commentary to the works of Pindar*, Amsterdam.
- Faure, P. (1985) 'Les Dioscures à Delphes', *L'Antiquité Classique*, 54, pp. 56-65.
- Faustoferri, A. (1993) 'The Throne of Apollo at Amyklai: its Significance and Chronology', in Palagia, O. and Coulson W. (eds.) *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an international conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10-14, 1992*, Oxford, pp. 159-166.
- Faustoferri, A. (1996) *Il trono di Amyklai e Sparta. Bathykles al servizio del potere*, Perugia.
- Fearn, D. (2007) *Bacchylides. Politics, Performance, Poetic Tradition*, Oxford.
- Ferrari, A. (1978) *I vasi calcidesi. Problemi di pittura greca del VI secolo a.C.*, Torino.
- Ferrari, G. (2002) *Figures of Speech. Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece*, Chicago and London.
- Ferrari, G. (2003) 'What Kind of Rite of Passage was the Ancient Greek Wedding?' in Dodd, D. B. and Faraone, C. A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives*, London and New York, pp. 27-42.
- Ferrari, G. (2008) *Alcman and the Cosmos of Sparta*, Chicago and London.
- Ferri, S. (1927) 'Il gruppo acroteriale di Marasà (Locri)', *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 1962, 11, pp. 307-316.

- Fitzhardinge, L. F. (1985) *The Spartans*, London.
- Fletcher, K.F.B. (2008) 'Systematic Genealogies in Apollodorus' Bibliotheca and the Exclusion of Rome from Greek Myth', *Classical Antiquity*, 27 (1), pp. 59-91.
- Flower, M. A. (2009) 'Spartan "religion" and Greek "religion"', in Hodkinson, S. (ed.) *Sparta. Comparative approaches*, Swansea, pp. 103-229.
- Foley, H.P. (1992) 'Anodos Dramas: Euripides' Alcestis and Helen', in Hexter, R. and Selden, D. (eds.) *Innovations of Antiquity*, New York and London, pp. 133-160.
- Foley, H.P. (1994) *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter. Translation, Commentary, and Interpretative Essays*, Princeton.
- Forrest, W.G. (1980) *A History of Sparta. 950-192 B.C.*, London.
- Franchi, E. (2012) 'Conflitto e memoria ad Argo arcaica: le tradizioni cittadine attorno a Telesilla', in Franchi, E. and Proietti, G. (eds.) *Forme della memoria e dinamiche identitarie nell'antichità greco-romana*, Trento, pp. 207-227.
- Frauenfelder, D.W. (1991) *The Spartan Dioscuri: Their origins and development in the Hellenic world*, University of North Carolina.
- Frazer, J.G. (1898) *Pausania's Description of Greece*, London.
- Friedman, R.D. (2007) 'Old Stories in Euripides' New "Helen": παλαιότης γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ ἔνεστι τις ("Hel." 1056)', *Phoenix*, 61 (3-4), pp. 195-211.
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F. (1992) 'Les Grecs, le double et les jumeaux', *Topique. Revue freudienne*, 22 n. 50, 1992, pp. 239-262.
- Frontisi-Ducroux, F. and Lissarrague, F. (2009) 'Char, Mariage et Mixité: Une Métaphore Visuelle', in Yatromanolakis, D. (ed.) *An Archaeology of Representations. Ancient Greek Vase-Painting and Contemporary Methodologies*, Athens, pp. 87-97.
- Fusillo, M., Hurst, A. and Paduano, G. (1991) *Licofrone. Alessandra*, Milano.
- García Romero, F. (2000) 'The Dithyrambs of Bacchylides: Their Position in the Evolution of the Genre', in Bagordo, A. and Zimmermann, B. (eds.) *Bacchylides. 100 Jahre nach seiner Wiederentdeckung*, München, pp. 47-57.
- Garvie, A. F. (1965) 'A Note on the Deity of Alcman's Partheneion', *The Classical Quarterly (New Series)*, 15 (02), pp. 185-187.

- Gengler, O. (1995) 'Les Dioscures et les Apharétides dans le Parthénée d'Alcman (Frgt 3 Calame)', *Les Études Classiques*, 63, pp. 3-21.
- Gengler, O. (2003), 'Héritage épique et lyrique dans la poésie alexandrine: les Dioscures et les Apharétides d'Homère à Lycophron' in Guglielmo, M. and Bona, E., *Forme di comunicazione nel mondo antico e metamorfosi del mito: dal teatro al romanzo*, Alessandria, pp. 135-147
- Ghali-Kahil, L. B. (1955) *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène dans les textes et les documents figurés*, Paris.
- Giangiulio, M. (1983) 'Locri, Sparta, Crotone e le tradizioni leggendarie intorno alla battaglia della Sagra', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*, 95 (1), pp. 473-521.
- Giannelli, G. (1963) *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia. Contributo alla storia più antica delle colonie greche in Occidente*, Firenze.
- Gigante Lanzara, V. (1995) 'I vaticini di Cassandra e l'interpretazione trasgressiva del mito', *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 45, pp. 85-98.
- Gigante Lanzara, V. (1998) 'Il tempo dell'Alessandra', *La parola del passato*, 53 (303), pp. 401-418.
- Gigante Lanzara, V. (2000) 'Licofrone. Alessandra', Milano.
- Giuliani, L. (2018) 'Pots, Plots, and Performance. Comic and Tragic Iconography in Apulian Vase Painting', in Audley-Miller, L. and Dignas, B. (eds.) *Wandering Myths: Transcultural Uses of Myth in the Ancient World*, Berlin-Boston, pp. 125-142.
- Goff, B. (2004) *Citizen Bacchae. Women's Ritual Practice in Ancient Greece*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
- Gondek, R.M. (2011) 'Lifting the Veil: Identity and Dress of Brides on Athenian Vases', in Amundsen-Meyer, L., Engel, N. and Pickering, S. (eds.) *Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity. Proceedings of the 42nd (2010) Annual Chacmool Archaeology Conference, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta*, Calgary, pp. 74-85.
- Goody, J. and Tambiah, S.J. (1973) *Bridewealth and Dowry*, Cambridge.
- Gow, A. (1942) 'The twenty-second idyll of Theocritus', *The Classical Review*, 56 (01), pp. 11-18.
- Gow, A. (1950) *Theocritus: edited with a Translation and commentary*, Cambridge.

- Graf, F. (1987) *Griechische Mythologie*, München und Zürich, transl. Marier, T. (1993) *Greek Mythology. An Introduction*, Baltimore.
- Graf, F. (2003) 'Initiation. A Concept with a Troubled History', in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 3-24.
- Graf, F. (2011) 'Myth and Hellenic Identities' in Dowden, K. and Livingstone, N. (eds.) *A Companion to Greek Mythology*, Hoboken, pp. 211-226.
- Graham, A.J. (1999) *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece*, Manchester.
- Greco, E. (2006) 'Greek Colonisation in Southern Italy: a Methodological Essay', in Tsetskhladze, G.R. (ed.) *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas. Volume One*, Leiden-Boston, pp. 169-200.
- Greco, E. (2011) 'Alla ricerca dell'agorà di Sparta', *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, 89, Serie III, 11 – Tomo 1, pp. 53-77.
- Greco, G. (1985) *Un cratere del pittore di Talos da Serra di Vaglio*, Roma.
- Greco, G. (2003) 'Heraion alla foce del Sele: nuove letture', in Cazenove, O. de, and Scheid, J. (eds.) *Sanctuaires et sources dans l'Antiquité. Les sources documentaires et leurs limites dans la description des lieux de culte*, Napoli, pp. 103-135.
- Grottanelli, C. (1986) 'Yoked Horses, Twins, and the Powerful Lady: India, Greece, Ireland and Elsewhere', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 14 (1-2), pp. 125-152.
- Gruben, G. – Vierneisel, K. (1964) 'Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos', *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 79, 384-467.
- Guarducci, M. (1979) 'Le insegne dei Dioscuri', in *Il senso del culto dei Dioscuri in Italia. Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Taranto nell'aprile del 1979*, pp. 75-100.
- Guettel Cole, S. (1998) 'Domesticating Artemis', in Blundell, S. and Williamson, M. (eds.) *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, London and New York, pp. 27-43.
- Guzzo, P.G. (1994) 'I Dioscuri in Magna Grecia', in Nista, L. (ed.) *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma*, Roma, pp. 27-31.

- Hägg, R. and Alroth, B. (2005) *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian. Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25-27 April 1997, Sävedalen.*
- Hall, J.M. (1995) 'How Argive Was the "Argive" Heraion? The Political and Cultic Geography of the Argive Plain, 900-400 B. C.', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 99 (4), pp. 577-613.
- Hall, J.M. (2007) 'Politics and Greek Myth', in Woodard, R.D. (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology*, Cambridge, pp. 331-354.
- Hall, J.M. (2008) 'Foundation Stories', in Tsetschladze, G.R. (ed.) *Greek Colonisation. An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas. Volume Two*, Leiden-Boston, pp. 383-426.
- Hannestad, L. (1997) 'Death on Delos: Conventions in an International Context', in Bilde, P. et al. (eds.) *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks*, Aarhus, pp. 285-302.
- Harris, E.M. (1990) 'Did the Athenians Regard Seduction as a Worse Crime than Rape? ', in *The Classical Quarterly*, 40 (2), pp. 370-377.
- Hemberg, B. (1955) "Ἀναξ, Ἀνασσα und Ἀνακτες als Götternamen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der attischen Kulte", Uppsala.
- Henderson, J. (1987) *Aristophanes. Lysistrata*, Oxford.
- Henrichs, A. (1987) 'Three Approaches to Greek Mythography', in Bremmer, J. (ed.), *Interpretation of Greek Mythology*, Worchester, pp. 242-277.
- Henrichs, A. (2005) 'Sacrifice as to the Immortals. Modern Classifications of Animal Sacrifice and Ritual Distinctions in the *Lex Sacra* from Selinous', in Hägg, R. and Alroth, B. (eds.) *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian. Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25-27 April 1997*, Stockholm, pp. 47-60.
- Hermay, A. (1978) 'Images de l'apothéose des Dioscures', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 102 (1), pp. 51-76.
- Hibler, D. (1992) 'Three Reliefs from Sparta', in Sanders, J.M. (ed.) *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London, pp. 115-122.
- Hibler, D. (1993) 'The Hero-Reliefs of Lakonia: Changes in Form and Function', in Palagia, O. and Coulson, W. (eds.) *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an International Conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10-14, 1992*, Oxford, pp. 199-204.

- Hodkinson, S. (2009) *Property and Wealth in Classical Sparta*, London and Swansea.
- Von den Hoff, R. (2013) 'Theseus, the François Vase and Athens in the sixth century B.C.' in Shapiro, H.A., Iozzo M. and Lezzi-Hafter, A., *The François Vase: New Perspectives*, Kilchberg/Zurich, pp. 131-151.
- Holtzmann, B. (1977) 'Siphnos-Thasos-Paros', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Supplément 4, pp. 295-304.
- Von Holzinger, C. (1895) *Lykophron's Alexandra*, Leipzig.
- Homolle, T. (1894) 'Nouvelles et correspondance', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 18, pp. 175-200.
- Homolle, T. (1896) 'Institut de correspondance hellénique: Le trésor de Cnide', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 20, pp. 581-602.
- Hornblower, S. (1996) *A Commentary on Thucydides. Volume II, Books IV-V.24*, Oxford
- Hornblower, S. (2015) *Lykophron: Alexandra. Greek Text, Translation, Commentary and Introduction*, Oxford.
- Houby-Nielsen, S. (1997) 'Grave Gifts, Women, and Conventional Values in Hellenistic Athens', in Bilde, P. et al. (eds.) *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks*, Aarhus, pp. 220-262.
- Hughes, D.D. (2005) 'Sacrifice and the Cult of the Dead in Ancient Argos', in Hägg, R. and Alroth, B. (eds.) *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian. Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25-27 April 1997*, Stockholm, pp. 75-83.
- Hunter, R. (2006) *Theocritus and the Archaeology of Greek Poetry*, Cambridge.
- Hupfloher, A. (2000) *Kulte im kaiserzeitlichen Sparta. Eine Rekonstruktion anhand der Priesterämter*, Berlin.
- Hurwit, J.M. (2014) 'The Lost Art: Early Greek Wall and Panel Painting, 760-480 B.C.' in Pollitt, J. J. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Painting in the Classical World*, Cambridge, pp. 66-93.
- Hutchinson, G.O. (1988) *Hellenistic Poetry*, Oxford.

- Hutchinson, G.O. (2001) *Greek Lyric Poetry. A Commentary on Selected Larger Pieces. Alcman, Stesichorus, Sappho, Alcaeus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Simonides, Bacchylides, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides*, Oxford.
- Hutton, W. (2005) *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*, Cambridge.
- Hutton, W. (2010) 'The Construction of Religious Space in Pausanias', in Elsner, J. and Rutherford I., *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods*, Oxford, pp. 291-317.
- Huys, M. (1997) 'Euripides and the 'Tales from Euripides': Sources of Apollodoros' 'Bibliotheca'?', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, neue Folge, 140 (3/4), pp. 308-327.
- Iacobone, C. (1988) *Le stipi votive di Taranto (Scavi 1885-1934)*, Roma.
- Ivanchik, A.I. (2005) 'Who were the 'Scythian' Archers on Archaic Attic Vases?', in Braund, D. (ed.) *Scythians and Greeks. Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (sixth century BC – first century AD)*, Exeter, pp. 100-113.
- Jackson, P. (2006) *The Transformations of Helen. Indo-European Myth and the Roots of the Trojan Cycle*, Dettelbach.
- Jacquemin, A. (1999) *Offrandes monumentales à Delphes*, Paris.
- Jeanmarie, H. (1939) *Couroi et Courètes*, Lille.
- Jeffery, L.H. and Cartledge, P. (1982) 'Sparta and Samos: A Special Relationship?', *The Classical Quarterly*, 32 (2), pp. 243-265.
- Jenkins, I. (1983) 'Is there Life after Marriage? A Study of the Abduction Motif in Vase Paintings of the Athenian Wedding Ceremony', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 30, pp. 137-145.
- Jenkins, I. (2006) *Greek Architecture and its Sculpture*, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Jiménez San Cristobal, A.I. (2015) 'The Rape of Persephone in a Berlin Papyrus', *Les Études classiques*, 83, pp. 237-260.
- Johnston, S.I. (2003) "Initiation" in Myth, "Initiation" in Practice. The Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* and its Performative Context' in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 155-180.
- Johnston, S.I. (2015) 'Narrating Myths: Story and Belief in Ancient Greece', *Arethusa*, 48 (2), pp. 173-218.

- Jouan, F. (1966) *Euripide et les légendes des Chants Cypriens. Des origines de la guerre de Troie à l'Iliade*, Paris.
- Jourdain-Annequin, C. (1998), 'Représenter les dieux: Pausanias et le panthéon des cités', in Pirenne-Delforge, V. (ed.) *Les Panthéons des cités des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias. Actes du Colloque organisé à l'Université de Liège du 15 au 17 mai 1997 (2^e partie)*, Liège, pp. 241-261.
- Kaempf-Dimitriadou, S. (1979) *Die Liebe der Götter in der Attischen Kunst des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Antike Kunst, Beiheft XI.
- Kannicht, R. (1969) 'Euripides. Helena. Band II. Kommentar', Heidelberg.
- Kassel, R. (1976) *Aristotelis Ars Rhetorica*, Berolini et Novi Eboraci.
- Kearns, E. (1998) 'The Nature of Heroines', in Blundell, S. and Williamson, M. (eds.) *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, London and New York, pp. 96-110.
- Kelly, T. (1970a) 'Did the Argives Defeat the Spartans at Hysiae in 669 B. C.?', *The American Journal of Philology*, 91 (1), pp. 31-42.
- Kelly, T. (1970b) 'The Traditional Enmity Between Sparta and Argos: The Birth and Development of a Myth', *The American Historical Review*, 75 (4), pp. 971-1003.
- Kelly, T. (1974) 'Argive Foreign Policy in the Fifth Century B.C.', *Classical Philology*, 69 (2), pp. 81-99.
- Kelly, T. (1977) *A History of Argos to 500 B.C.*, Minneapolis.
- Kenens, U. (2013) 'Text and Transmission of Ps.-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*: Avenues for Future Research', in Trzaskoma, S.M. and Scott Smith, R. (eds.) *Writing Myth: Mythography in the Ancient World*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, pp. 95-114.
- Kennell, N.M. (2013) 'Boys, Girls, Family, and the State at Sparta', in Evans Grubbs, J. and Parkin, T. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford, pp. 381-395.
- Kerényi, K. and Rose, H. J. (1959) *The Heroes of the Greeks*, London.
- Keuls, E.C. (1984) 'Patriotic Propaganda and Counter-cultural Protest in Athens as Evidenced by Vase Painting', in Brijder, H.A.G. (ed.) *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam 12-15 April 1984*, Amsterdam, pp. 256-259.

- Keuls, E.C. (1985) *The Reign of the Phallus. Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
- Van Keuren, F. D. (1989) *The Frieze from the Hera I Temple at Foce del Sele*, Roma.
- Kingsley, B.M. (1979) 'The Reclining Heroes of Taras and Their Cult', *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 12, pp. 201-220.
- Knell, H. (1990) *Mythos und Polis: Bildprogramme griechischer Bauskulptur*, Darmstadt.
- Kôiv, M. (2015) 'Sanctuaries and traditions in Ancient Sparta' in Kämmerer, T. R. and Kôiv, M. (edd.), *Cultures in Comparison. Religion and Politics in Ancient Mediterranean Regions*, Münster, pp. 25-66.
- Kuhnert, E. (1887) 'Eine Neue Leukippidenvase', *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, pp. 271-274.
- Kulesza, R. (2008) 'Spartan Gamos in the Classical Period', *Palamedes. A Journal of Ancient History*, 3, pp. 135-166.
- Lacey, W.K. (1966) 'Homeric ΕΑΝΑ and Penelope's ΚΥΠΙΟΣ', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 86, pp. 55-68.
- De La Coste-Messelière, P. (1944) 'Nouvelles remarques sur les frises siphniennes', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 68-69, pp. 5-35.
- De La Coste-Messelière, P. (1950) *Les trésors de Delphes*, Paris.
- De La Coste-Messelière, P. (1969) 'Topographie delphique', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 93 (2), pp. 730-758.
- De La Coste-Messelière, P. (1970) *Au musée de Delphes*, Paris.
- La Genière, J. (de) (1983) 'A Propos des métopes du monoptère de Sicyone à Delphes', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 127 (1), pp. 158-171.
- La Genière, J. (de) (1986) 'Un ex-voto locrese a Delfi? ', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Serie III, 16 (2), pp. 395-409.
- La Genière, J. (de), Greco Maiuri, G., Donnarumma, R. (1997) 'L'Héraion de Foce del Sele, découvertes récentes', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 141 (1), pp. 333-350.
- Landskron, A. (2015) *Das Heroon von Trysa*, Wien.

- Lang, M.L. (1972) 'War and the Rape-Motif, or Why Did Cambyses Invade Egypt?', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 116 (5), pp. 410-414.
- Langdon, S. (1998) 'Significant Others: The Male-Female Pair in Greek Geometric Art'. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 102 (2), pp. 251-270.
- Langdon, S. (2006) 'Maiden Voyage: from Abduction to Marriage in Late Geometric Art', in Rystedt, E. and Wells B., *Pictorial Pursuits: Figurative Painting on Mycenaean and Geometric Pottery*, Athens, pp. 205-215.
- Laroche, D. and Nenna, M.-D. (1992) 'Deux trésors archaïques en poros à Delphes', in Bommelaer, J.-F. (ed.) *Delphes. Centenaire de la "Grande Fouille" réalisée par L'Ecole française d'Athènes (1892-1903). Actes du Colloque Paul Perdrizet, Strasbourg, 6-9 novembre 1991*, Leiden-New York-København-Köln, pp. 109-124.
- Larson, J.L. (1992) *Greek heroine cults in their social and literary contexts*, University of Wisconsin.
- Larson, J.L. (1995) *Greek heroine cults*, University of Wisconsin.
- Larson, J.L. (2007) *Ancient Greek cults. A guide*, New York and London.
- Laursen, S. (1992) 'Theocritus' Hymn to the Dioscuri: Unity and Intention', *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 43, pp. 71-95.
- Lefkowitz, M.R. (1993) 'Seduction and Rape in Greek Myth', in Laiou, A.E., *Consent and Coercion to Sex and Marriage in Ancient and Medieval Societies*, Harvard, pp. 17-37.
- Leitao, D. (2003) 'Adolescent Hair-Growing and Hair-Cutting Rituals in Ancient Greece. A Sociological Approach' in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 109-129.
- Lendrum, W.T. (1902) 'The Date of Pindar's Tenth Nemean', *The Classical Review*, 16 (5), pp. 267-269.
- Letta, C. (1971) *Piccola coroplastica metapontina nel Museo Archeologico Provinciale di Potenza*, Napoli.
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1991) *Histoire de Lynx*, Paris.
- LIMC (1981) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich & Stuttgart.
- Lincoln, B. (1979) 'The Rape of Persephone: A Greek Scenario of Women's Initiation', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 72 (3-4), pp. 223-235.

- Lincoln, B. (1981) *Emerging from the Chrysalis. Studies in Rituals of Women's Initiation*, Cambridge and London.
- Lincoln, B. (2003) 'The Initiatory Paradigm in Anthropology, Folklore, and History of Religions' in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 241-254.
- Lindner, R. (1984) *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst*, Würzburg.
- Lippolis, E. (1982) 'Le testimonianze del culto in Taranto greca', *Taras*, 3-4, pp. 81-135.
- Lippolis, E. (2001) 'Culto e iconografie della coroplastica votiva. Problemi interpretativi a Taranto e nel mondo greco', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*, 113 (1), pp. 225-255.
- Lippolis, E. (2005) 'Pratica rituale e coroplastica votiva a Taranto', in Nava, M. L. and Osanna, M. (eds.) *Lo spazio del rito. Santuari e culti in Italia meridionale tra indigeni e greci. Atti delle giornate di studio (Matera, 28 e 29 giugno 2002)*, pp. 91-102.
- Lippolis, E. (2009) 'Rituali di guerra: i Dioscuri a Sparta e a Taranto', *Archeologia Classica*, 60, n.s. 10, pp. 117-159.
- Lippolis, E. (2014) 'Alcune osservazioni sull'uso e sulla diffusione della coroplastica rituale nei depositi dell'Italia meridionale: il caso di Locri Epizefiri', in Fontana, F. and Murgia, E. (eds.) *Sacrum facere. Atti del II Seminario di Archeologia del Sacro. Contaminazioni: forme di contatto, traduzione e mediazione nei sacra del mondo greco e romano. Trieste, 19-20 aprile 2013*, Trieste, pp. 54-93.
- Lippolis, E., Garraffo, S. and Nafissi, M. (1995) *Taranto*, Taranto.
- Lissarrague, F. (1996) 'Regards sur le mariage grec', in Cavalier, O. (ed.) *Silence et fureur. La femme et le mariage en Grèce. Les antiquités grecques du Musée Calvet*, Avignon, pp. 415-433.
- Lissi Caronna, E., Sabbione, C. and Vlad Borrelli, L. (1999) *I pinakes di Locri Epizefiri. Musei di Reggio Calabria e di Locri. Parte I, Tomi 1-4, Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia. Quarta serie I*, 1996-1999.
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2003) *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece*, Swansea.
- Lolos, Y.A. (2005) 'The Sanctuary of Titane and the City of Sikyon', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 100, pp. 275-298.

- Lolos, Y.A. (2011) *Land of Sicyon. Archaeology and History of a Greek City-State*, Princeton.
- Lolos, Y.A. (2013) 'Αρχαιολογική έρευνα επιφάνειας στην περιοχή της Σικυώνας', in Kissas, K. and Niemeier, W.D. (eds.) *The Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnese*, München, pp. 469-478.
- Lolos, Y.A. (2015) 'L'architecture à Sicyone pendant la haute époque hellénistique', in des Courtils, J. (ed.) *L'Architecture monumentale grecque au IIIe siècle a.C.*, Bordeaux, pp. 51-82.
- Lolos, Y.A. and Gourley, B. (2011) 'The Town Planning of Hellenistic Sicyon', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1, pp. 87-140.
- Lolos, Y.A. and Sarris, A. (2011) 'Η αγορά της Σικυώνας', in Haagsma, M., et al. (eds.) *The Agora in the Mediterranean from Homeric to Roman Times*, pp. 139-152.
- Lonsdale, S.H. (2000) *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, Baltimore and London.
- Lorenz, K. (2007) 'The Anatomy of Metalepsis: visuality turns around on late fifth-century Pots', in Osborne, R. (ed.) *Debating the Athenian Cultural Revolution: Art, Literature, Philosophy, and Politics, 430-380 BC*, Cambridge, pp. 116-143.
- Luraghi, N. (2002a) 'Becoming Messenian', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 122, pp. 45-69.
- Luraghi, N. (2002b) 'Helots Called Messenians? A Note on Thuc. 1.101.2', *The Classical Quarterly*, 52 (2), pp. 588-592.
- Lynch, K.M. (2009) 'Erotic Images on Attic Vases: Markets and Meanings', in Oakley, J.H. and Palagia, O., *Athenian Potters and Painters. Volume II*, Oxford and Oakville, pp. 159-165.
- Lyons, D. (1997) *Gender and Immortality. Heroines in Ancient Greek Myth and Cult*, Princeton.
- Lyons, D. (2012) *Dangerous Gifts. Gender and Exchange in Ancient Greece*, Austin.
- Maggialetti, M. (2007) 'Tra Atene e Sparta: Mito e politica sul cratere apulo Taranto, MN 52230', *Ostraka*, 2, pp. 289-310.

- Maldonado Samper, A. (1999) 'Los Dioscuros en el *Idilio XXII* de Teócrito', *Excerpta philologica: revista de filología griega y latina de la Universidad de Cádiz*, 9, pp. 79-87.
- Malkin, I. (1998) 'Myth, Religion, and Spartan "Ideology"', *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum*, pp. 43-49.
- Marchetti, P. and Kolokotsas, K. (1995) *Le nymphée de l'agora d'Argos. Fouille, étude architecturale et historique*, Paris.
- Marinatos, N. (2003) 'Striding across Boundaries. Hermes and Aphrodite as Gods of Initiation' in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 130-151.
- Masségli, J. (2012) 'Emotions and Archaeological Sources. A Methodological Introduction', in Chaniotis, A. (ed.) *Unveiling Emotions. Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, Stuttgart, pp. 131-150.
- Matheson, S.B. (1995) *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens*, University of Wisconsin.
- Mayo, M.E. and Hamma, K. (1982) *The Art of South Italy: Vases from Magna Graecia: an Exhibition*, Richmond.
- McGregor, M.F. (1941) 'Cleisthenes of Sicyon and the Panhellenic Festivals', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 72, pp. 266-287.
- McNiven, T.J. (2000) 'Fear and Gender in Greek Art', in Rautman, A.E. (ed.) *Reading the Body. Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, Philadelphia, pp. 124-131.
- Mele, A. (1996) 'I culti di Crotone', in Lattanzi, E. et al. (eds.) *I Greci in Occidente. Santuari della Magna Grecia in Calabria*, Napoli, pp. 235-238.
- Melis, V. (2016) 'Eur. *Hel.* 255-305 e l'Encomio di Elena di Gorgia: un dialogo intertestuale', *Lexis. Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica*, 34, pp. 130-143.
- Mellink, M.J. (1943) *Hyakinthos*, Utrecht.
- Mencacci, F. (1996) *I fratelli amici. La rappresentazione dei gemelli nella cultura romana*, Venezia.
- Michell, H. (1952) *Sparta*, Cambridge.

- Mielsch, H. (1979) 'Zur Deutung und Datierung der Knöchelspielerinnen des Alexandros', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts*, 86, pp. 233-248.
- Millender, E. (2009) 'Athenian Ideology and the Empowered Spartan Woman', in Hodkinson, S. and Powell, A. (eds) *Sparta. New Perspectives*, Swansea, pp. 355-391.
- Mitropoulou, E. (1977) *Deities and Heroes in the Form of Snakes*, Athens.
- Montanaro, A.C. (2007) *Ruvo di Puglia e il suo territorio: le necropoli: i corredi funerari tra la documentazione del XIX secolo e gli scavi moderni*, Roma.
- Monumenti inediti, pubblicati dall'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, 6, 1857, tavola XII.
- Moretti, J.C. and Pariente, A. (1998) 'L'implantation du Théâtre d'Argos dans un lieu plein de sanctuaires" in Moretti, J.C. and Pariente, A. (eds.) *Argos et l'Argolide: topographie et urbanisme; Actes de la Table Ronde internationale Athènes-Argos 1990*, pp. 233-259.
- Morris, I. (1986) 'The Use and Abuse of Homer', *Classical Antiquity*, 5 (1), pp. 81-138.
- Moscato Castelnovo, L. (1991) 'Iloti e fondazione di Taranto', *Latomus*, 50 (1), pp. 64-79.
- Moscato Castelnovo, L. (1995) 'Sparta e le tradizioni crotoniati e locresi sulla battaglia della Sagra', *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, 51 (3), pp. 141-163.
- Motte, A. (1971) *Prairies et Jardins de la Grèce Antique. De la Religion à la Philosophie*, Bruxelles.
- Motyka Sanders, J. (1993) 'The Dioscuri in Post-Classical Sparta', in Palagia, O. and Coulson W. (edd.) *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an international conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10-14, 1992*, Oxford, pp. 217-224.
- Moulton, C. (1973) 'Theocritus and the Dioscuri', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 14 (1), pp. 41-47.
- Mylonopoulos, I. (2011) 'Hyacinthia', in *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*, vol. VII, Los Angeles, pp. 164-167.
- Mylonopoulos, I. (2017) 'Emotions in Ancient Greek Art', in Chaniotis, A. (ed.) *A World of Emotions. Ancient Greece, 700 BC-200 AD*, New York, pp. 72-85.

- Nafissi, M. (2009) 'From Sparta to Taras. *Nomima, ktiseis* and relationships between colony and mother city', in Hodkinson, S. and Powell, A. (eds.) *Sparta. New Perspectives*, Swansea, pp. 245-272.
- Neer, R.T. (2001) 'Framing the Gift: The Politics of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi', *Classical Antiquity*, 20 (2), pp. 273-344.
- Neils, J. (1987) *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus*, Roma.
- Neils, J. (2008) "'Women are White": White ground and the Attic Funeral', in Lapatin, K., *Papers on Special Techniques in Athenian Vases*, Los Angeles, pp. 61-72.
- Neils, J. (2012) 'Spartan Girls and the Athenian Gaze', in James, S.L. and Dillon, S. (eds.) *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, Malden-Oxford, pp. 153-166.
- Neils, J. (2013) 'Contextualizing the François Vase' in Shapiro, H.A., Iozzo M. and Lezzi-Hafter, A., *The François Vase: New Perspectives*, Kilchberg/Zurich, pp. 119-129.
- Nenna, M.-D. and Laroche, D. (1990) 'Le trésor de Sicyone et ses fondations', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 114 (1), pp. 241-284.
- Nicole, G. (1907) *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique*, Genève.
- Nikolaïdou-Arampatzi, S. (2014) 'Maiden Choruses in the Epinician Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides: Poet's Choral "I" ', *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*, 106, pp. 33-50.
- Nista, L. (1994), ed. *Castores. L'immagine dei Dioscuri a Roma*, Roma.
- Nobili, C. (2009) 'L'Odissea e le tradizioni peloponnesiache', *Pasiphae. Rivista di filologia e antichità egee*, 3, pp. 171-186.
- Nobili, C. (2013) 'I carmi di Bacchilide per Sparta', *La cultura a Sparta in età classica*, Atti del seminario di Studi Università Statale di Milano (5-6 maggio 2010), pp. 31-69.
- Nobili, C. (2014) 'Performances of Girls at the Spartan Festival of the Hyakinthia', in Moraw, S. and Kieburg, A. (eds.) *Mädchen im Alterum / Girls in Antiquity*, Münster, pp. 135-148.
- Noegel, S.B. (2007) 'Greek Religion and the Ancient Near East' in Ogden, D. (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion*, New York, pp. 21-37.
- Oakley, J.H. (1982) 'The Anakalypteria', *Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 97, pp. 113-118.

- Oakley, J.H. (1984) 'Double-register Calyx Kraters: a Study in Workshop Tradition', in Brijder, H.A.G. (ed.) *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam 12-15 April 1984*, Amsterdam, pp. 119-127.
- Oakley, J.H. (1995) 'Nuptial Nuances: Wedding Images in non-wedding Scenes of Myth', in Reeder, E.D. (ed.) *Pandora. Women in Classical Greece*, Baltimore and Princeton, pp. 63-73.
- Oakley, J.H. and Sinos, R.H. (1993) *The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, Madison.
- O'Brien, S. (1982) 'Dioscuric Elements in Celtic and Germanic Mythology', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 10 (1-2), pp. 117-136.
- Oberleitner, W. (1994) *Das Heroon von Trysa: ein lykisches Fürstengrab des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Ogden, D. (2013) *Drakon: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford.
- Osborne, R. (1996) 'Desiring Women on Athenian Pottery', in Kampen, N.B. *Sexuality in Ancient Art. Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, Cambridge, pp. 65-80.
- Østby, E. (2000) 'Delphi and Archaic Doric Architecture in the Peloponnese', in Jaquemin, A. (ed.) *Delphes. Cent ans après la Grande Fouille. Essai de bilan. Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Ecole française d'Athènes, Athènes-Delphes, 17-20 septembre 1992*, Paris, pp. 239-261.
- Page, D.L. (1962) *Poetae Melici Graeci. Alcmanis Stesichori Ibyci Anacreontis Simonidis Corinnae poetarum minorum reliquias carmina popularia et convivialia quaeque adespota feruntur*, Oxford.
- Palagia, O. (2005) 'Interpretations of two Athenian Friezes. The Temple of the Ilissos and the Temple of Athena Nike', in Barringer, J.M. and Hurwit, J.M. (eds.) *Periklean Athens and its Legacy*, Austin, pp. 177-192.
- Paley, F.A. (1874) *Euripides. Vol II*, London.
- Palumbo Stracca, B.M. (2000) 'Tre note a Teocrito XXII', *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, 42 (2), pp. 175-189.
- Paradiso, A. (1986) 'Osservazioni sulla cerimonia nuziale spartana', *Quaderni di storia*, 24, pp. 137-153.
- Paribeni, E. (1964) 'Eroi tarantini e Dioscuri', in Homann-Wedeking, E. and Segall, B. (eds.) *Festschrift Eugen v. Mercklin*, Bayern, pp. 112-115.

- Parker, R. (1988) 'Demeter, Dionysus and the Spartan Pantheon', in Hägg, R., Marinatos, N. and Nordquist, G. C. (edd.), *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*, Stockholm, pp. 99-103.
- Parker, R. (1989) 'Spartan Religion' in Powell, A. (ed.), *Classical Sparta: Techniques behind her Success*, London, pp. 142-172.
- Parker, R. (2004) 'The Hyakinthia of Sparta' in Figueira, T. J. (ed.), *Spartan Society*, Swansea, pp. 77-102.
- Parker, R. (2005) 'ὥς ἥρωι ἐναγίζειν', in Hägg, R. and Alroth, B. (eds.) *Greek Sacrificial Ritual, Olympian and Chthonian. Proceedings of the Sixth International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult, organized by the Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Göteborg University, 25-27 April 1997*, Stockholm, pp. 37-45.
- Parker, V. (1994) 'Some Aspects of the Foreign and Domestic Policy of Cleisthenes of Sicyon', *Hermes*, 122 (4), pp. 404-424.
- Patterson, C.B. (1998) *The Family in Greek History*, Cambridge and London.
- Pavese, C.O. (1992) *Il grande partenio di Alcmane*, Amsterdam.
- Pavese, C.O. (1996) *L'Auriga di Mozia*, Roma.
- Payne, M. (2007) *Theocritus and the Invention of Fiction*, Cambridge.
- Pélékidis, C. (1962) *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant Jésus-Christ*, Paris.
- Peponi, A.E. (2004) 'Initiating the Viewer: Deixis and Visual Perception in Alcman's Lyric Drama', *Arethusa*, 37 (3), pp. 295-316.
- Peponi, A.E. (2013) 'Dithyramb in Greek Thought. The Problem of Choral Mimesis', in Kowalzig, B. and Wilson, P. (eds.) *Dithyramb in Context*, Oxford, pp. 353-367.
- Perdrizet, P.F. (1896) 'Archaistic Reliefs', *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 3, pp. 156-169.
- Perentidis, S. (1995) 'Apaulia-Epaulia-Anakalypteria: définition et fonction des rites et des dons nuptiaux', in *Symposium 1995. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte, Korfu, 1-5 September 1995*, pp. 179-204.
- Pettersson, M. (1992) *Cults of Apollo at Sparta. The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaidiai and the Karneia*, Stockholm.

- Picard, C. and de La Coste-Messelière, P. (1928) *Fouilles de Delphes. Tome IV (2). Monuments Figurés: Sculpture*, Paris.
- Piccaluga, G. (1979) 'I Dioskouroi: la morte come libera scelta', in *Il senso del culto dei Dioscuri in Italia. Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Taranto nell'aprile del 1979*, pp. 41-63
- Piccard, C. (1939) 'La triade des Dioscures et d'Hélène en Italie', *Revue des études latines*, 17, pp. 367-390.
- Pierart, M. (1982) 'Deux notes sur l'itinéraire argien de Pausanias', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 106 (1), pp. 139-152.
- Pierart, M. (1983) 'L'itinéraire argien de Pausanias', *Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série*, 1, pp. 175-178.
- Pilipović, S. (2001) 'Divine rape as funeral motif: Example of stela from Viminacium', *Balkanica*, (XXXII-XXXI), pp. 61-89.
- Pipili, M. (1987) *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C.*, Oxford.
- Pipili, M. (1998) 'Archaic Laconian vase-painting: some iconographic considerations', in Cavanagh, W.G. and Walker, S.E.C. (eds.) *Sparta in Laconia: Proceedings of the 19th British Museum Classical Colloquium held with the British School at Athens and King's and University Colleges, London 6-8 December 1995*, Athens, pp. 82-96.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (1991) 'Le culte de la Persuasion Peithô en Grèce ancienne', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 208 (4), pp. 395-413.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (1998), 'La notion de "panthéon" chez Pausanias', in Pirenne-Delforge, V. (ed.) *Les Panthéons des cités des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias. Actes du Colloque organisé à l'Université de Liège du 15 au 17 mai 1997 (2^e partie)*, Liège, pp. 129-148.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2004) 'Image des dieux et rituel dans le discours de Pausanias', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité*, 116 (2), pp. 811-825.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2008a) 'Le lexique des lieux de culte dans la "Périégèse" de Pausanias', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 10, pp. 143-178.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2008b) *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque*, Liège.

- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2009) 'Under Which Conditions Did the Greeks "Believe" in Their Myths? The Religious Criteria of Adherence', in Walde, C. and Dill, U. (eds.) *Antike Mythen. Medien, Transformationen, Konstruktionen. Festschriften für Fritz Graf*, Berlin, pp. 38-54.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2010a) 'Something to do with Aphrodite: *Ta Aphrodisia* and the Sacred', in Ogden, D. (ed.) *A Companion to Greek Religion*, Oxford, pp. 311-323.
- Pirenne-Delforge, V. (2010b) 'Reading Pausanias: Cults of the Gods and Representation of the Divine', in Henrichs, A., Bremmer, J. N. and Erskine, A. (eds.) *The Gods of Ancient Greece: Identities and Transformations*, Edinburgh, pp. 375-387.
- Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, L. (1977) 'Tabelle fittili tarantine relative al culto dei Dioscuri', *Archeologia Classica*, 29, pp. 310-398, tavv. LXIV-CXI.
- Pisani, V. (1928) 'Elena e l'Εἰδωλον', *Rivista di Filosofia*, 1928, pp. 476-499.
- Poli, N. (2010) 'Terrecotte di cavalieri dal deposito del Pizzone (Taranto): iconografia e interpretazione del soggetto', *Archeologia classica: Rivista del Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità*, 61, pp. 41-73.
- De Polignac, F. (1998) 'Divinités régionales et divinités communautaires dans les cités archaïques', in Pirenne-Delforge, V. (ed.) *Les Panthéons des cités des origines à la Périégèse de Pausanias. Actes du Colloque organisé à l'Université de Liège du 15 au 17 mai 1997 (2^e partie)*, Liège, pp. 28-32.
- Polinskaya, I. (2003) 'Liminality as Metaphor. Initiation and the Frontiers of Ancient Athens' in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 85-106.
- Pollitt, J.J. (1990) *The art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents*, Cambridge.
- Pomeroy, S.B. (2002) *Spartan Women*, Oxford.
- Pomeroy, S.B. (2008) 'Spartan Women among the Romans: Adapting Models, Forging Identities', in Bell, S. and Hansen, I. L., *Role Models in the Roman World. Identity and Assimilation*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, pp. 221-234.
- Posamentir, R. (2011) *The Polychrome Grave Stelai from the Early Hellenistic Necropolis*, Austin.
- Prange, M. (1992) 'Der Raub der Leukippiden auf einer Vase des Achilleusmalers', *Antike Kunst*, 35 (1), pp. 3-17.

- Priestley, J.M. (2007) 'The $\varphi\alpha\rho\omicron\varsigma$ of Alcman's *Partheneion* 1', *Mnemosyne* 60 (2), pp. 175-195.
- Proietti, G. (2012) 'Etnicità peloponnesiache di IV secolo: I Messeni tra memoria storica e costruzione identitaria', in Franchi, E. and Proietti, G. (eds.) *Forme della memoria e dinamiche identitarie nell'antichità greco-romana*, Trento, pp. 65-85.
- Prost, F. (2017) 'Laconian Art', in Powell, A. (ed.) *A Companion to Sparta*, Hoboken, pp. 154-176.
- Provenza, A. (2010-2011) 'Gli *Heraia* di Olimpia e le donne di Elide. Riti di passaggio e inni tra Era e Dioniso', in Castaldo, D., Giannacchi, F.G. and Manieri, A. (eds.) *Poesia, musica e agoni nella Grecia antica. Poetry, Music and Contests in ancient Greece. Atti del IV convegno internazionale di MOIΣA. Proceedings of the IVth International Meeting of MOIΣA. Lecce, 28-30 ottobre 2010*, Lecce, pp. 99-125.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G. (1965) 'Culti e dottrine religiose in Magna Grecia', in *Santuari di Magna Grecia. Atti del quarto convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia. Taranto-Reggio Calabria, 11-16 Ottobre 1964*, Napoli, pp. 19-45.
- Pugliese Carratelli, G. (1979) 'L'origine micenea del culto dei Dioscuri', in *Il senso del culto dei Dioscuri in Italia. Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Taranto nell'aprile del 1979*, pp. 17-22.
- Pugliese Carratelli *et al.*, eds. (1983) *Megale Hellas. Storia e civiltà della Magna Grecia*, Milano.
- Putortì, N. (1926) 'Terrecotte architettoniche di Reggio-Calabria', *Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia, lingua, antichità*, 10, pp. 59-83.
- Rebaudo, L. (2013) 'The Underworld Painter and the Corinthian adventures of Medea. An interpretation of the crater in Munich', *La rivista di Engramma*, 109, pp. 7-16.
- Rebuffat, R. (1972) 'La meurtre de Troilos sur les urnes étrusques (La nuit et l'Aurore, V)', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 84 (1), pp. 515-542.
- Recchia, M. (2017) 'Pindaro e i poeti di Sparta arcaica: un frammento pindarico in POxy 2389?', *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*, 115 (1), pp. 53-65.
- Redfield, J.M. (1982) 'Notes on the Greek Wedding', *Arethusa*, 15, pp. 181-201.
- Redfield, J.M. (2003a) *The Locrian Maidens. Love and Death in Greek Italy*, Princeton and Oxford.

- Redfield, J.M. (2003b) 'Initiations and Initiatory Experience' in Dodd, D.B. and Faraone, C.A. (eds.) *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives*, London and New York, pp. 255-279.
- Reeder, E.D. (1995) 'Women as Wild Animals', in Reeder, E.D. (ed.) *Pandora. Women in Classical Greece*, Princeton, pp. 299-374.
- Reeves Sanday, P. (1986) 'Rape and the Silencing of the Feminine', in Tomaselli, S. and Porter, R. (eds.) *Rape*, Oxford, pp. 84-101.
- Rehm, R. (1994) *Marriage to Death. The Conflagration of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*, Princeton.
- Reinmuth, O.W. (1952) 'The Genesis of the Athenian Ephebia', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 83, pp. 34-50.
- Reinmuth, O.W. (1971) *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, Leiden.
- Richardson, N.J. (1974) *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford.
- Richer, N. (2007) 'The Religious System at Sparta', in Ogden, D. (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion*, New York, pp. 236-252.
- Ridgway, B.S. (1991) 'Archaic Architectural Sculpture and Travel Myths', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, 17 (2), pp. 95-112.
- Rizzo, S. (1995) *Pausania. Viaggio in Grecia. Laconia (Libro III)*, Milano.
- Robbins, E. (1994) 'Alcman's Partheneion: Legend and Choral Ceremony', *The Classical Quarterly (New Series)*, 44 (01), pp. 7-16.
- Robbins Dexter, M. (1990) 'The Hippomorphic Goddess and Her Offspring', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 18 (3-4), pp. 285-308.
- Robert, C. (1920) *Die griechische Heldensage*, Berlin.
- Robertson, N. (1998) 'The City Center of Archaic Athens', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 67 (3), pp. 283-302.
- Robson, J. E. (1997) 'Bestiality and Bestial Rape in Greek Myth', in Deacy, S. and Pierce, K. F. (eds.) *Rape in Antiquity*, Duckworth, pp. 65-96.
- Da Rocha Pereira, M.H. (1959) 'Notícia Acerca de Vasos Gregos existentes em Portugal. II.a Parte', *Humanitas*, 11, pp. 29-37.

- Romano, I.B. (1988) 'Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices', in Hägg, R., Marinatos, N. and Nordquist, C. (eds.) *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26-29 June, 1986*, Stockholm, pp. 127-134.
- Rönne-Linders, T. (1971) 'A Hellenistic Tombstone in the Ashmolean', *Opuscula Atheniensia*, 10, pp. 85-90.
- Ross Holloway, R. (1988) 'Early Greek Architectural Decoration as Functional Art', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 92 (2), pp. 177-183.
- Roux, G. (1958) *Pausanias en Corinthie (Livre II, 1 à 15)*, Paris.
- Rozokoki, A. (2011) 'The Significance of the Ancestry and Eastern Origins of Helen of Sparta', *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*, 98, pp. 35-69.
- Rumpf, A. (1927) *Chalkidische Vasen*, Berlin und Leipzig.
- Sabbatucci, D. (1979) 'I Dioscuri come "Grandi Dei"', in *Il senso del culto dei Dioscuri in Italia. Atti del Convegno svoltosi a Taranto nell'aprile del 1979*, pp. 65-73.
- Sabbioni, C. (2004) 'Découvertes récentes à Locres Epyzéphyrienne', *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 148 (1), pp. 383-397.
- Sabetai, V. (1997) 'Aspects of Nuptial and Genre Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens: Issues of Interpretation and Methodology', in Oakley, J.H., Coulson, W.D.E. and Palagia, O. (eds.) *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings*, Oxford, pp. 319-335.
- Salapata, G. (1993) 'The Lakonian Hero Reliefs in the Light of the Terracotta Plaques', in Palagia, O. and Coulson, W. (eds.) *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an International Conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10-14, 1992*, Oxford, pp. 189-197.
- Salapata, G. (2006) 'The Tippling Serpent in the Art of Lakonia and Beyond', *Hesperia*, 75 (4), pp. 541-560.
- Sancassano, M.L. (1997) *Il serpente e le sue immagini. Il motivo del serpente nella poesia greca dall'Iliade all'Oresteia*, Como.
- Sanchez, P.L.M. (2008) 'The literary existence of Polygnotus of Thasos and its problematic utilization in painted pottery studies', *BAR International Series*, 1782, pp. 233-242.

- Sanders, J.M. (1992) 'The Early Lakonian Dioskouroi Reliefs', in Sanders, J.M. (ed.) *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London, pp. 205-210.
- Sanders, J.M. (1993) 'The Dioscuri in Post-Classical Sparta', in Palagia, O. and Coulson, W. (eds.) *Sculpture from Arcadia and Laconia. Proceedings of an international conference held at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, April 10-14, 1992*, Oxford, pp. 217-224.
- Sanders, G.D.R. (2009) 'Platanistas, the Course and Carneus: their places in the topography of Sparta', *British School at Athens Studies*, 16, pp. 195-203.
- Sandys, J.E. and Cope, E.M. (eds.) (2006) *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, Hildesheim-Zürich-New York.
- Sansone, D. (1991) 'Cleobis and Biton in Delphi', *Nikephoros*, 4, pp. 121-132.
- Savignoni, L. (1897) 'Un bassorilievo del Palatino e una pittura di Ercolano', *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma*, 25, pp. 73-102.
- Saxkjaer, S.G. (2015) 'The Locrian Pinakes. Revealing Secrets of Cult Practice?', in *Revealing and Concealing in Antiquity. Textual and Archaeological Approaches to Secrecy*, Aarhus, pp. 161-178.
- Sbardella, L. (2003) 'Mogli o buoi? Lo scontro tra Tindaridi ed Afaretidi da Pindaro ai poeti alessandrini', *RUSMOS. Studi di poesia, metrica e musica greca offerti dagli allievi a Luigi Enrico Rossi per i suoi settant'anni*, 6, pp. 133-150.
- Scanlon, T.F. (1984) 'The footrace of the Heraia at Olympia', *The Ancient World*, 9, pp. 77-90.
- Schlesier, R. (1991) 'Olympian versus Chthonian Religion', *Scripta classica israelica*, 11, pp. 38-51.
- Schlesinger, A.C. (1931) 'Associated Divinities in Greek Temples', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 35 (2), pp. 161-169.
- Schnapp, A. (1984) 'Éros en chasse', in Berard, C., Bron, C. and Vernant, J.P. (eds.) *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique*, Paris.
- Schnapp, A. (1987) 'Héraclès, Thésée et les chasseurs: Les ambiguïtés du héros', in Bérard, C., Bron, C. and Pomari, A. (eds.) *Images et société en Grèce ancienne: l'iconographie comme méthode d'analyse: actes du colloque international, Lausanne 8-11 février 1984*, Lausanne, pp. 121-130.

- Schnapp, A. (1997) *Le chasseur et la cité. Chasse et érotique en Grèce ancienne*, Paris.
- Scodel, R. (1997) 'Pseudo-intimacy and the Prior Knowledge of the Homeric Audience', *Arethusa*, 30 (2), pp. 201-219.
- Scodel, R. (1999) *Credible Impossibilities. Conventions and Strategies of Verisimilitude in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, Stuttgart und Leipzig.
- Scodel, R. (2002) *Listening to Homer. Tradition, Narrative, and Audience*, Ann Arbor.
- Scullion, J. (1999-2000) 'Tradition and Invention in Euripidean Aitiology', *Illinois Classical Studies*, 24-25, pp. 217-233.
- Scullion, S. (2000) 'Heroic and Chthonian Sacrifice: New Evidence from Selinous', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 132, pp. 163-171.
- Seaford, R. (1987) 'The Tragic Wedding', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 107, pp. 106-130.
- Seaford, R. (2009) 'Aitiologies of Cult in Euripides: a Response to Scott Scullion', in Robert, J., Cousland, C. and Hume, R. *The play of texts and fragments: essays in honour of Martin Cropp*, Leiden, pp. 221-234.
- Sens, A. (1992) 'Theocritus, Homer, and the Dioscuri: Idyll 22.137-223', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 122, pp. 335-350.
- Sens, A. (1996) 'A Man of Many Words: Lynceus as Speaker in Theoc.22', in Harder, M.A., Regtuit, R.F. and Wakker, G.C. (eds.) *Theocritus*, Groningen, pp. 187-204.
- Sens, A. (1997) *Theocritus, Dioscuri (Idyll 22): introduction, text, and commentary*, Göttingen.
- Sens, A. (2009) 'Hellenistic Poetry', in Graziosi, B., Vasunia, P. and Boys-Stones, G. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Hellenic Studies*, Oxford, pp. 599-608.
- Sens, A. (2010) 'Hellenistic Tragedy and Lycophron's *Alexandra*', in Clauss, J.J. and Cuypers, M. (eds.) *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, Hoboken, pp. 297-313.
- Sergent, B. (1992) 'De quelques jumeaux indo-européens', *Topique. Revue freudienne*, 22 (50), pp. 205-238
- Servadei, C. (2005) *La figura di Theseus nella ceramica attica. Iconografia e iconologia del mito nell'Atene arcaica e classica*, Bologna.

- Serwint, N. (1993) 'The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 97 (3), pp. 403-422.
- Severyns, A. (1928) *Le cycle épique dans l'école d'Aristarque*, Liège.
- Severyns, A. (1932) 'Pindare et les "Chants Cypriens"', *L'Antiquité Classique*, T.1, 1/2, pp. 261-271.
- Sforza, I. (2007) *L'eroe e il suo doppio. Uno studio linguistico e iconologico*, Pisa.
- Shapiro, H.A. (1983) 'Amazons, Thracians, and Scythians', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 24 (2), pp. 105-114.
- Shapiro, H.A. (1985) 'Greek 'Bobbins': A New Interpretation', *The Ancient World*, 11, pp. 115-118.
- Shapiro, H.A. (1989) *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*, Mainz am Rhein.
- Shapiro, H.A. (1993) *Personifications in Greek Art. The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600-400 B.C.*, Zürich.
- Shapiro, H.A. (1999) 'Cult Warfare. The Dioskouroi between Sparta and Athens', in Hägg, R., *Ancient Greek Hero Cult*, Stockholm, pp. 99-107.
- Shapiro, H.A. (2002) *Myth into Art. Poet and Painter in Classical Greece*, London and New York.
- Shapiro, M. (1982) 'Neglected Evidence of Dioscurism (Divine Twinning) in the Old Slavic Pantheon', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 10 (1-2), pp. 137-166.
- Sideris, A., Roussou, M. and Gaitatzes, A. (2004) 'The Virtual Reconstruction of the Hellenistic Asclepieion of Messene', *Imeros*, 4, pp. 208-216.
- Sineux, P. (1997) 'A Propos de l'Asclépieion de Messène: Asclépios Poliade et Guérisseur', *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 110, pp. 1-24.
- Skalet, C.H. (1928) *Ancient Sicyon with a Prosopographia Sicyonia*, Baltimore.
- Skutsch, O. (1987) 'Helen, Her Name and Nature', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 107, pp. 188-193.
- Slatkin, L.M. (1986) 'The Wrath of Thetis', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 116, pp. 1-24.
- Slatkin, L.M. (1991) *The Power of Thetis. Allusion and Interpretation in the Iliad*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford.

- Small, J.P. (1999) 'Time in Space: Narrative in Classical Art', *The Art Bulletin*, 81 (4), pp. 562-575.
- Snodgrass, A. (1974) 'An Historical Homeric Society?', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 94, pp. 114-125.
- Snodgrass, A. (1981) 'Narration and Allusion in Archaic Greek Art', Eleventh J.L. Myres Memorial Lecture, New College Oxford, 29 May 1981, London, in Snodgrass, A. (2006) *Archaeology and the Emergence of Greece*, Ithaca, pp. 382-406.
- Snodgrass, A. (1988) 'The Archaeology of the Hero', *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Archeologia e storia antica*, 10, pp. 19-26.
- Snodgrass, A. (1998) *Homer and the Artists. Text and Picture in early Greek art*, Cambridge.
- Sommerstein, A.H. (1990) *Lysistrata*, Warminster.
- Sordi, M. (1972) 'La leggenda dei Dioscuri nella battaglia della Sagra e di Lago Regillo', *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica. Scienze storiche*, 1, pp. 47-70.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1973) 'The Young Abductor of the Locrian Pinakes', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, 20 (1), pp. 12-21.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1974) 'The Votum of 477/6 B.C. and the Foundation Legend of Locri Epizephyrii', *The Classical Quarterly*, 24 (2), pp. 186-198.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1987) 'A Series of Erotic Pursuits: Images and Meanings', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 107, pp. 131-153.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1990) 'Myths in Images: Theseus and Medea as a Case Study', in Edmunds, L. (ed.) (2014) *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore, pp. 395-445.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (1991) 'Reading' *Greek Culture. Text and Images, Rituals and Myths*, Oxford.
- Sourvinou-Inwood, C. (2004) 'Reading a myth, reconstructing its constructions', in Hansen, W., et al., *Myth and Symbol II: Symbolic phenomena in Ancient Greek culture*, Athens, pp. 141-177.
- Spawforth, A.J.S. (1992) 'Spartan Cults under the Roman Empire: Some Notes', in Sanders, J.M. (ed.) *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London, pp. 227-238.

- Stansbury-O'Donnell, M. (1999) *Pictorial Narrative in Ancient Greek Art*, Cambridge.
- Stansbury-O'Donnell, M. (2006) *Vase Painting, Gender, and Social Identity in Archaic Athens*, Cambridge.
- Stansbury-O'Donnell, M. (2009) 'Structural Differentiation of Pursuit Scenes', in Yatromanolakis, D. (ed.) *An Archaeology of Representations. Ancient Greek Vase-Painting and Contemporary Methodologies*, Athens, pp. 341-372.
- Stansbury-O'Donnell, M. (2014) 'Reflections of Monumental Painting in Greek Vase Painting in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. ', in Pollitt, J. J. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Painting in the Classical World*, Cambridge, pp.143-169.
- Steiner, D.T. (1995) 'Stoning and Sight: A Structural Equivalence in Greek Mythology', *Classical Antiquity*, 14 (1), pp. 193-211.
- Steinhart, M. (2003) 'Literate and Wealthy Women in Archaic Greece: Some Thoughts on the "Telesstas" Hydria', in Csapo, E. and Miller, M. C., *Poetry, Theory, Praxis. The social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, pp. 204-231.
- Stern, J. (1969) 'The Myths of Pindar's *Nemean 10*', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 10 (2), pp. 125-132.
- Stewart, A. (1995) 'Rape?', in Reeder, E.D. (ed.) *Pandora. Women in Classical Greece*, Baltimore and Princeton, pp. 74-90.
- Stibbe, C.M. (1991) 'Dionysus in Sparta', *Babesch: bulletin antieke beschaving*, 66, pp. 1-44.
- Stibbe, C.M. (1994) 'Between Babyka and Knakion: three addenda', *Babesch: bulletin antieke beschaving*, 69, pp. 63-102.
- Sutton, R.F. Jr. (1997-1998) 'The Visual Discourse of Marriage in Classical Athens', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 55-56, pp. 27-48.
- Szeliga, G.N. (1986) 'The Composition of the Argo Metopes from the Monopteros at Delphi', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 90 (3), pp. 297-305.
- Taplin, O. (2007) *Pots and Plays. Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C.*, Los Angeles.
- ThesCRA II (2004) *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum II. Purification. Initiation. Heroization, Apotheosis. Banquet. Dance. Music. Cult Images*, Los Angeles.

- Threatt, T. (2009) 'Legally Speaking: Rape and Seduction in Athenian Law', *Rhetoric Review*, pp. 87-88.
- Tillyard, E.M.W. (1923) *The Hope vases: a catalogue and a discussion of the Hope Collection of Greek vases with an introduction on the history of the collection and on late Attic and South Italian vases*, Cambridge.
- Tomlinson, R.A. (1972) *Argos and the Argolid. From the end of the Bronze Age to the Roman occupation*, London.
- Tomlinson, R.A. (1992) 'The Menelaion and Spartan Architecture', in Sanders, J.M. (ed.) *ΦΙΛΟΛΑΚΩΝ. Lakonian Studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London, pp. 247-255.
- Topper, K. (2007) 'Perseus, the Maiden Medusa, and the Imagery of Abduction', *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, 76 (1), pp. 73-105.
- Topper, K. (2012) 'Approaches to Reading Attic Vases', in James, S.L. and Dillon, S. (eds.) *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 141-152.
- Torelli, M. (2013) 'The Destiny of the Hero – Towards a Structural Reading of the François Krater', in Shapiro, H.A., Iozzo M. and Lezzi-Hafter, A., *The François Vase: New Perspectives*, Kilchberg/Zurich, pp. 83-103.
- Tosti, V. (2011) 'Una riflessione sui culti eroici nella Sparta *katà komas*. L'edificio con banchina di Odos Staufert', *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente*, 89, Serie III, 11 – Tomo 1, pp. 95-108.
- Trendall, A.D. and Cambitoglou, A. (1978) *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, Volume I, Oxford.
- Trendall, A.D. and Cambitoglou, A. (1983) *First Supplement to the Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*, London.
- Trinkl, E. (2006) 'Sacrificial and Profane Use of Greek Hydriai', in Tsingarida, A. (ed.), *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th – 4th centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles 27-29 April 2006*, Bruxelles, pp. 153-171.
- Trzaskoma, S.M. (2013) 'Citation, Organization and Authorial Presence in Ps.-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*', in Trzaskoma, S.M. and Scott Smith, R. (eds.) *Writing Myth: Mythography in the Ancient World*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, pp. 75-94.
- Vaglio, M. (2000) 'I Dioscuri scomparsi. Crotone, Sparta, Cirene e le tradizioni mitiche sulla battaglia della Sagra', *Hesperia: studi sulla grecità di occidente*, pp. 227-235.

- van der Valk, M. (1958) 'On Apollodori "Bibliotheca"', *Revue des Études Grecques*, 71 (334/338), pp. 100-168.
- Vallet, G. (1958) *Rhégion et Zancle. Histoire, commerce et civilisation des cités chalcidiennes du détroit de Messine*, Paris.
- Vasić, R. (1984) 'A Note on the Theme of the Siphnian Frieze', *Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie*, 7, pp. 34-40.
- Vatin, C. (1982) 'Monuments votifs de Delphes', *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 106 (1), pp. 509-525.
- Vereniging van Vrienden van het Allard Pierson Museum (1983) *Mededelingenblad*, 27, pp. 6.
- Vernant, J.P. (1973) 'Le mariage en Grèce ancienne', *La parola del passato. Rivista di studi antichi*, 28, pp. 51-74.
- Vernant, J.P. (1974) *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne*, Paris, transl. Lloyd, J. (1990) *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece*, New York.
- Vernant, J.P. (1991a) 'The Figure and Functions of Artemis in Myth and Cult', in Zeitlin, F. (ed.) *Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays. Jean-Pierre Vernant*, Princeton, pp. 195-206.
- Vernant, J.P. (1991b) 'Artemis and Rites of Sacrifice, Initiation, and Marriage', in Zeitlin, F. (ed.) *Mortals and Immortals. Collected Essays. Jean-Pierre Vernant*, Princeton, pp. 207-219.
- Versnel, H.S. (1987) 'Greek Myth and Ritual: The Case of Kronos', in Bremmer, J. (ed.) *Interpretation of Greek Mythology*, Worchester.
- Versnel, H.S. (1994) 'What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander: Myth and Ritual, Old and New', in Edmunds, L. (ed.) (2014) *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore, pp. 25-90.
- Veyne, P. (1983) *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes?*, Paris, transl. Wissing, P. (1988) *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, Chicago.
- Vidal-Naquet, P. (1968) 'The Black Hunter and the origin of the Athenian *ephebeia*', in Gordon, R.L. (ed.) *Myth, religion and society*, 1981, Cambridge, pp. 147-162.
- Vidal-Naquet, P. (1974) 'Recipes for Greek adolescence', in Gordon, R.L. (ed.) *Myth, religion and society*, 1981, Cambridge, pp. 163-185.

- Vidal-Naquet, P. (1986) 'The Black Hunter Revisited', *The Cambridge Classical Journal*, 32, pp. 126-144.
- Villing, A. (2014) 'Dangerous Perfection and an Old Puzzle Resolved: a “New” Apulian Krater Inspired by Euripides’ *Antiope*', *Bulletin of the Insitute of Classical Studies*, 57 (1), pp. 61-78.
- Vlizos, S. (2009) 'The Amyklaion Revisited: New Observations on a Laconian Sanctuary of Apollo', in Kaltsas, N. (ed.) *Athens-Sparta. Contribution to the Research on the History and Archaeology of the Two City-States. Proceedings of the International Conference in conjunction with the exhibition “Athens-Sparta” organized in collaboration with the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Saturday, April 21, 2007. Onassis Cultural Center, New York, New York*, pp. 11-23.
- Voelke, P. (1996) 'Beauté d'Hélène et rituel féminin dans l'Hélène d'Euripide', *Kernos. Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique*, 9, pp. 281-296.
- Voisenat, C. (1988) 'La rivalité, la séparation et la mort. Destinées gémellaires dans la mythologie grecque', *L'Homme*, 28, 105, pp. 88-104.
- Walcot, P. (1979) 'Cattle Raiding, Heroic Tradition, and Ritual: the Greek Evidence', *History of Religions*, 18 (4), pp. 326-351.
- Walker, J.H. (2015) *The Twin Horse Gods. The Dioskouroi in Mythologies of the Ancient World*, London-New York.
- Ward, D.J. (1968) *The Divine Twins: An Indo-European Myth in Germanic Tradition*, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Ward, D.J. (1970) 'The Separate Functions of the Indo-European Divine Twins', in Puhvel, J. (ed.) *Myth and Law Among the Indo-Europeans. Studies in Indo-European Comparative Mythology*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, pp. 193-202.
- Watrous, L.V. (1982) 'The Sculptural Program of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi', *American Journal of Archaeology*, 86 (2), pp. 159-172.
- Webster, T.B.L. (1972) *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens*, London.
- Van Wees, H. (1994) 'The Homeric Way of War: The 'Iliad' and the Hoplite Phalanx (II)', *Greece & Rome*, 41 (2), pp. 131-155.
- Wehgartner, I. (1983) *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik*, Mainz am Rhein.

- West, M.L. (1985) *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women. Its Nature, Structure, and Origins*, Oxford.
- West, M.L. (2007) *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford.
- White, H. (1976) 'Three problems in Theocritus XXII', *Emerita*, 44 (1), pp. 403-408.
- Wide, S. (1893) *Lakonische Kulte*, Stuttgart.
- Von Wilamowitz, U. (1906) *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*, Berlin.
- Willink, C. (2005) 'Euripides, "Hecuba" 444-6/455-7, "Helen" 1465-77, "Bacchae" 565-75', *Mnemosyne*, 58 (4), pp. 499-509.
- Wilson, W.W. (1912) 'The Partheneion of Alkman', *American Journal of Philology*, 33 (1), pp. 57-67.
- Wycherley, R.E. (1957) *The Athenian Agora. Volume III. Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton.
- York, M. (1995) 'The Divine Twins in the Celtic Pantheon', *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, 23 (1-2) pp. 83-112.
- Zancani Montuoro, P. (1954) 'Il rapitore di Kore nel mito locrese', *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*, 29, pp. 79-86 (consulted in *Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia*, Terza Serie, 1994-1995, pp. 195-202).
- Zancani Montuoro, P. and Zanotti-Bianco, U. (1954) *Heraion alla Foce del Sele II: Il primo thesauros*, Roma.
- Zanker, G. (1989) 'Current Trends in the Study of Hellenic Myth in Early Third-Century Alexandrian Poetry: The Case of Theocritus', *Antike und Abendland*, 35, 83-103.
- Zeitlin, F. (1986) 'Configurations of Rape in Greek Myth', in Tomaselli, S. and Porter, R., *Rape*, Oxford, pp. 122-151.
- Zimmermann, B. (1992) *Dithyrambos: Geschichte einer Gattung*, Gottingen.
- Zuntz, G. (1955) *The political Plays of Euripides*, Manchester.
- Zweig, B. (1999) 'Euripides' *Helen* and Female Rites of Passage' in Padilla, M. W., *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society*, London and Toronto, pp. 158-180.

Index locorum

Achilles Tatius: 54

Aeschylus:

- *Seven against Thebes*: 50
- *Suppliants*: 175, 244

Agora I 2080: 170

Alcaeus: 176, 197, 237

Alcman:

- Louvre *Partheneion*: 7, 19, 81, 92, 94-100, 101, 102, 110, 181, 182
- commentary to (*P. Oxy.* 2389 and 2390): 26, 94, 100-102, 248

Anacreon: 91

Andocides: 170

Antiochus: 147-151

Apollodorus: 8, 24, 27-28, 30-33, 38, 47, 50, 56, 60, 63, 77, 94, 128-129, 132, 134-135, 171-172, 217, 229, 230, 233, 237, 238, 242, 252-253, 262

Apollonius of Rhodes: 37, 63, 157

Aristophanes:

- *Lysistrata*: 90-92, 181-182, 185

Aristotle: 29-30, 250

Athenaeus: 77, 87-88, 182, 199, 230

Bacchylides: 20, 80-81, 249

Clement of Alexandria:

- *Protrepticus*: 47, 97-98, 127, 244, 258

Cratin: 77

Cypria: 7, 26, 28, 33, 37-38, 61, 64, 74, 76, 77, 98, 255, 258

Demosthenes:

- 21: 92

Diodorus Siculus: 53, 115, 118, 144, 147, 152, 229, 230

Ephorus: 148-151

Etymologicon Magnum: 60, 152

Euripides:

- *Electra*: 29
- *Helen*: 7, 29, 75, 77, 90-92, 94, 178-182, 183, 185, 244, 249-250
- *Iphigeneia in Aulis*: 244
- *Orestes*: 29
- *Phaethon*: 96, 98
- *Phoenissae*: 75
- *Eur. Schol. Tro.* 210: 60-61

Eusebius: 147, 148

Eustathius: 77

Hegias: 230

Heliodorus: 54

Hellanicus: 230

Hermippus: 199

Herodotus: 53, 58, 108, 133, 137, 144, 149, 175, 200, 213, 230

Hesiod:

- *Theogony*: 240, 242
- *Catalogue of Women*: 26, 45
- *Schol. Hes. Theog.* 142: 26, 248

Hesychius: 78, 79, 91

Homeric Hymns:

- to Demeter: 202, 212, 240, 242
- to the Dioscuri 17 and 33: 49, 59, 61, 115, 143, 176

Hyginus: 56-57, 63, 263

Inscriptiones Graecae (IG):

- IV.561: 126, 131
- IV.564: 131
- IV.566: 131
- IV.590: 131
- V.1.305: 105, 258
- V.1.586: 89
- V.1.587: 89
- XII 4.330: 53
- XIV.645a: 149
- I² 127: 170
- I² 310: 170

Iliad: 33, 34, 35, 50, 61-64, 66, 70, 77, 132, 162, 215, 230, 232, 237, 239

- Isocrates: 108, 230
- Istros: 230
- St. Jerome:
- *Adversus Jovinianum*: 93
- Justin: 75, 118
- Lactantius:
- *Divinae Institutiones*: 56-57, 263
- Lucian:
- *Dialogues of the gods*: 75, 77
- Lycophron: 7, 26, 28-30, 35-38, 42-47, 49-50, 56, 77, 173, 193, 252, 259-262
- Lysias:
- 1: 53
- Menander:
- *Dyskolos*: 54
 - *Epitrepontes*: 54
 - *Kitharistes*: 54
 - *Samian Woman*: 54
- Niketas Eugenianos: 54
- Odyssey*: 59, 61, 77, 95
- Ovid:
- *Fasti*: 56-57, 262
 - *Metamorphoses*: 63
- P. Berol.* inv. 13044 V: 240
- Pausanias:
- 1.2.1: 230
 - 1.18.1: 31, 134, 144, 170, 254
 - 1.41.4: 233
 - 2.18.7-9: 132
 - 2.22.5: 31, 126, 171, 254
 - 2.22.6: 175, 233
 - 2.22.7: 233
 - 2.26.7: 217
 - 2.31.6: 131
 - 3.1.4: 33
 - 3.13.1: 60, 102, 106
 - 3.13.7: 79, 81, 255
 - 3.13.8-9: 80
 - 3.14.6-7: 102
 - 3.15.4: 47
 - 3.16.1-4: 26, 74, 76-78, 108, 180, 255-256
 - 3.17.3: 67, 256
- 3.17.6: 127
 - 3.18.11: 67, 144, 256
 - 3.18.13: 31, 128, 129, 171, 172, 256
 - 3.18.15: 233
 - 3.19.6: 81, 92
 - 3.20.1: 60, 102, 106, 107
 - 3.20.2: 102, 106, 256-257
 - 3.20.3: 81
 - 3.21.4: 102
 - 3.21.9: 102, 153
 - 3.26.2: 58
 - 3.26.3: 102, 257
 - 4.2.7: 48
 - 4.3.1: 33
 - 4.3.3-5: 132
 - 4.4.2: 53, 93, 213
 - 4.5.9: 148
 - 4.13.7: 148
 - 4.16.9-10: 93, 213
 - 4.19.2: 59
 - 4.27.6: 70
 - 4.31.9: 69, 257
 - 4.31.11-12: 69, 257
 - 5.16.3: 85
 - 5.16.6-7: 85
 - 5.19.3: 233
 - 6.4.4: 127
 - 7.21.9: 240
 - 8.37.9: 240
 - 8.45.6-7: 63
 - 9.29.8: 240
 - 10.3.3: 137
 - 10.3.8: 137
 - 10.9.7-8: 137
- Pherekydes: 209, 230
- Philochorus: 230
- Pindar:
- *Olympian* 3: 158
 - *Pythian* 1: 75
 - *Pythian* 4: 63, 206
 - *Pythian* 5: 158
 - *Isthmian* 1: 58, 158
 - *Isthmian* 5: 58
 - *Isthmian* 8: 237
 - *Nemean* 3: 237
 - *Nemean* 4: 237
 - *Nemean* 5: 237
 - *Nemean* 10: 33, 38, 39, 59, 61, 95, 126, 131, 165
 - *P. Oxy* 2442, fr. 7: 126
 - scholion to *Nem.* 10.110: 33, 249

Plutarch:

- *Lycurgus*: 60, 73, 104, 199, 254
- *Theseus*: 29, 97, 173, 213, 229, 230, 232, 233
- *Moralia*: 74, 77, 93, 131, 253

Pollux: 198

Polyaenus: 170, 171, 206

Proclus:

- *Chrestomanthia*: 26, 33, 61, 258

Sappho: 77, 198, 200, 241

SEG XXVI.428: 126

Simonides: 32, 80, 230

Sophocles:

- *Antigone*: 35, 50, 244
- *Medea*: 244
- *Oedipus at Colonus*: 35

Stephanus: 29-30, 259

Strabo: 115, 147, 148

Theocritus:

- *Idyll* 1: 48
- *Idyll* 22: 7, 11, 26, 31, 35-38, 42-50, 56-57, 59, 63, 157, 163, 184-185, 193, 250-252

Theognis: 58

Theodoros Prodromos: 54

Thucydides: 144, 147, 149, 170, 182

Tyrtaeus: 35

Tzetzes:

- *ad Lycophronem*: 24, 28, 29, 44, 68, 77, 129, 134, 172, 173, 193, 259-261
- *Chiliades*: 28, 29, 31, 262

Xenophon:

- *Agesilaus*: 87-89
- *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*: 60, 104

Xenophon of Ephesus: 54

Index of objects

Amsterdam:

- Allard Pierson Museum:
 - 10600: Fig. 10; 187, 191, 192, 215, 216, 221, 273

Athens:

- Kerameikos:
 - 2712: Fig. 18; 192, 280
- National Archaeological Museum:
 - 2350: Fig. 3; 187, 192, 206-208, 215, 218, 266
 - 18063: 234

Basel:

- Market:
 - Carter 1975, 45c: Fig. 29; 156, 290
 - Digital LIMC 4138: Fig. 16; 40-42, 164, 165, 188, 278
- Herbert Cahn collection:
 - 1325: Fig. 17; 183-184, 192, 279
 - 1607: Fig. 8; 192, 215, 271

Berlin:

- Antikensammlung:
 - F 2279: 237
 - F 2372: 202

Delphi, sanctuary of Apollo:

- Siphnian Treasury: Fig. 22-26; 7, 20, 52, 53, 138, 139-146, 163, 194, 233, 283-287
- Sicyonian Treasury: 7, 20, 34, 138, 145, 174, 207

Ferrara:

- Museo Archeologico:
 - 2810 (T. 1036): Fig. 11; 187, 221-222, 274
 - 44893: Fig. 6; 161, 187-188, 191, 210-211, 215, 216, 269

Foce del Sele, Heraion, reliefs: Fig. 20-21; 7, 122-125, 282

Halle:

- Archäologisches Museum der Martin-Luther-Universität (Robertinum):
 - 211: Fig. 2; 212, 217, 223, 265

Lisbon:

- Museu C. Gulbenkian:
 - 682: Fig. 4; 75, 192, 210-211, 215, 216, 267

London:

- British Museum:
 - 1920.12-21.1: 202
 - E 41: 231
 - E 224: Fig. 12; 81, 163-164, 187, 192, 210, 211, 214-218, 275
 - F 277: 242
 - GR 1899.2-19.: 229

Madrid:

- Archaeological Museum:
 - 11124: Fig. 5; 186-187, 192, 208, 215, 218, 221, 268

Malibu:

- J. Paul Getty Museum:
 - 86.AE.297: 88, 180

Marasà, sanctuary: 118, 154

New York:

- Metropolitan Museum of Art:
 - 07.128.1: 242
 - 08.258.21: 234

Paris:

- Louvre:
 - G 423: 235
- Cabinet des Médailles:
 - 539: 210, 237

Pella, House of the Abduction of Helen: 232

Potenza:

- Museo Archeologico Nazionale:
 - 54622: 233

Reggio Calabria:

- Museo Archeologico:
 - 1027-1028: Fig. 1; 59, 76, 114-117, 119, 120, 123, 214, 217, 264
 - lastra Griso Labocchetta: Fig. 19; 121, 281

Richmond:

- Virginia Museum:
 - 80, 162: Fig. 15; 26, 39-42, 164-166, 277

Rome, market. Beazley online 216254: Fig. 13; 275

Ruvo:

- Museo Jatta:
 - 1096: Fig. 14; 161-165, 188, 276

St. Petersburg:

- Hermitage:
 - 757: Fig. 9; 192, 215, 221, 272
 - P 1876-80: 235

Taranto:

- Museo Nazionale:
 - 123: Fig. 28; 156, 289
 - 138; Fig. 30; 156, 291
 - 4130; Fig. 31; 157, 292
 - 6091; Fig. 32; 157, 293

Trysa, heroon, relief: Fig. 27; 50-55, 143, 288

Vergina, Tomb I: 242

Worcester 1903.38: 235

Zurich:

- Prof. Mikro Ros collection:
 - 22: Fig. 7; 221, 270